

Bangladesh's Legacy of Woe

By Dennis Hevesi
New York Times Service

Bangladesh is a nation seemingly founded on unstable footing.

Its very ground is, by and large, a swarm of islands created and washed away each year as the monsoon-swollen Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers swirl across its huge delta and tumble into the Bay of Bengal.

Its politics are no more predictable. Two presidents have been assassinated in its 17-year history, and Bangladesh has suffered waves of man-made terror.

Terrific natural disasters are frequent in the nation of 55,126 square miles (142,774 square kilometers) that is bordered by India and Burma at the bend in the Bay of Bengal.

The majority of its population of more than 100 million is crammed onto the islands, most no more than 10 feet above sea level, that speckle the delta. When disaster strikes, there is no high ground upon which to seek refuge.

In 1970, a tidal wave killed at least 300,000 people. In June 1976, heavy rains swept away the

homes of 300,000 people and killed at least 143.

In April 1977, waves created by a cyclone in the Indian Ocean killed more than 600 people. In 1980, flooding forced the evacuation of 500,000 people. In 1983, a cyclone killed at least 1,400 people and perhaps as many as 10,000.

Ainslie Embree, a South Asia specialist at Columbia University in New York City, said, "Man-made disasters are just as consequent as the natural disasters."

Ever since the 12th century, when Muslim invaders carried Islam to Bengal, part of which is now Bangladesh, there has been religious strife with Hindus.

Most Bangladeshis are Muslims, with Hindus making up about 14 percent of the population.

In 1947, predominantly Hindu India won independence from Britain and a separate Muslim state, Pakistan, was created in two parts — divided by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The partition evoked ages-old religious enmity, and massacres ensued.

Power in the new Muslim nation was centered in West Pakistan. By 1968, rioters in the more

populous East were demanding autonomy.

By 1970, separatists from the East had won a majority in the National Assembly and were pressing for more power. But Assembly sessions were postponed by Agha Yahya Khan, then the president. Full-scale civil war erupted.

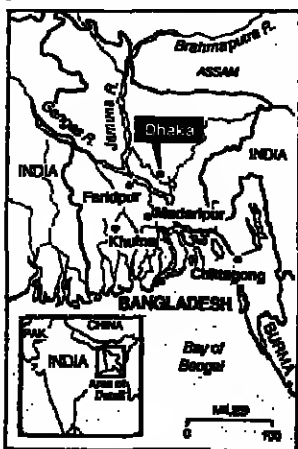
"Bangladesh suffered greatly during the civil war," Mr. Embree said. "A great many of the intellectuals were killed."

Mr. Embree said the Pakistani Army killed about 100,000 Bangladeshis. With Indian troops invading in support of the separatists, independence was won in December 1971. Then, thousands of collaborators were slaughtered.

Since independence, two presidents have been assassinated — the founder of the nation, Mujibur Rahman, in 1975, and Ziaur Rahman, in 1981.

Last November, there were large demonstrations against the government of President Hussain Mohammed Ershad, who took power in a military coup in March 1982.

General Ershad ended martial law in 1986, retired from the



army and successfully ran for election.

He was re-elected this year after a campaign in which the two opposition leaders refused to take part, maintaining that the elections could not be fair.

As it has been since its birth, Bangladesh remains one of the poorest countries in the world, primarily because its economy is almost entirely based on agriculture.

Jute, which is used to make rope and burlap, is Bangladesh's main export. "But the world market for jute disappeared in recent years because of plastics and man-made fibers," Mr. Embree said.

Ex-TWA Hostage Says Hijacker 'Gloated' Over Murder of U.S. Sailor

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Service

FRANKFURT — A victim of the 1985 Trans World Airlines jet hijacking testified in court Wednesday that a Lebanese defendant, Mohammed Ali Hammadi, "gloated" over the murder of a U.S. Navy diver, Robert D. Stethem, on the day after Mr. Stethem was killed.

The witness, Peter Hill, 60, one of 39 Americans held hostage for 17 days in the hijacking, challenged Mr. Hammadi's assertion that he had opposed shooting Mr. Stethem but was overruled by the second hijacker. The issue is of importance in determining how long a prison sentence Mr. Hammadi will receive, if he is convicted.

Mr. Hill, the first hijacking victim to confront Mr. Hammadi in court during the trial, also said he saw no evidence to support Mr. Hammadi's assertion that he acted only under the accomplice's orders during the hijacking. The court has identified the accomplice as a Lebanese named Hassan Izz al-Dine, who is still at large.

Mr. Hill described seeing Mr. Stethem and another passenger

with "horribly misshapen" faces after they received beatings during the hijacking. He related how the passengers had been systematically robbed of cash, jewelry, cameras and other valuables, first by the hijackers and later by members of the Lebanese Shiite militia Amal who boarded the plane during the second of three stops in Beirut.

Mr. Hill said Mr. Hammadi "seemed quite proud" of Mr. Stethem's murder during a conversation on June 16, the third day of the hijacking, while the plane was flying from Algiers to Beirut. The conversation took place a bit more than 24 hours after Mr. Stethem, of Waldorf, Maryland, was shot in the head while the Boeing 727 was parked on the runway of Beirut International Airport.

Mr. Hammadi held a 9-millimeter Beretta automatic pistol while he chatted with Mr. Hill and another hostage, Rolf Traugott, while leaving over a row of seats directly in front of them, Mr. Hill testified. He said Mr. Hammadi had a "gloating" or "bragging" expression on his face during the conversation.

Mr. Hill said Mr. Hammadi said in English, "This is the gun that killed the marine."

Mr. Hill added that Mr. Hammadi "seemed quite proud of the fact, contrary to his previous testimony."

The hijackers mistakenly called Mr. Stethem a marine, rather than a member of the navy, at several points during the hijacking.

There appeared to be a disagreement between Mr. Hill and Mr. Traugott over the conversation. The presiding judge, Heinz Mückenberger, suggested that Mr. Traugott had said in pretrial testimony that no conversation ever took place of the sort described by Mr. Hill.

When asked by the judge about this, Mr. Hill said: "Mr. Traugott is wrong. He has a bad memory."

Mr. Hammadi admitted in court in August that he helped to hijack TWA Flight 847 in order to put pressure on Israel to release more than 700 detained Lebanese Shiite Muslims. But Mr. Hammadi has insisted that his accomplice acted alone in murdering Mr. Stethem.

The prosecution has submitted evidence supporting Hammadi's contention that Mr. Izz al-Dine was the one who shot Mr. Stethem. Under West German law, however, Mr. Hammadi may be convicted of murder if he knew that the killing was to take place and approved of it.

Mr. Hammadi will receive a mandatory life sentence if he is convicted of murder. He also faces a life sentence if he is convicted of helping to stage a hijacking, in which a death occurred as a result of negligence, a court spokesman said.

Otherwise, Mr. Hammadi faces a maximum prison sentence of 15 years. There is no death penalty in West Germany.

At the time of the hijacking, Mr. Hill was an Illinois-based tour operator who was leading a group of 33 Americans who were returning from a visit to Israel. Mr. Mückenberger asked journalists to refrain from identifying the hometown and occupation of Mr. Hill and other witnesses.

WORLD BRIEFS

Suriname Refugees Face Expulsion

THE HAGUE (Reuters) — A Dutch court cleared the way Wednesday for the expulsion of 5,000 refugees from Suriname by ruling that the government had the right to send them home.

The Hague court's ruling came on an appeal by a Surinamese woman over a Justice Ministry decision to end a policy that had allowed refugees from the former Dutch colony of Suriname to stay in the Netherlands without being granted asylum. The court rejected the plaintiff's argument that she and others like her would be endangered by going back to the tiny South American nation, independent since 1975.

The policy was put into effect after a 1980 military coup in Suriname prompted many people to flee to the Netherlands. But after elections in 1986 restored civilian rule, the ministry decided to send the refugees home.

Angola Peace Talks Reopen in Congo

BRASZAVILLE, Congo (Reuters) — Peace talks on Angola and South-West Africa reopened here on Wednesday but rapidly bogged down in debate about South African reports of a new Cuban military buildup in Angola, conference participants said.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, held a series of meetings in the morning in a bid to clear the air of controversy over the reported reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent in Angola. South Africa has said that Cuba sent military equipment and 10,000 soldiers into Angola, in addition to the 50,000 troops already there. The U.S. State Department has reported a recent increase of Cuban military supplies sent to Angola but added that there was no evidence of a troop buildup.

"There's been some disinformation going on," a participant at the talks said. "They're going to have to thrash out what is true and what is false about the reported Cuban buildup."

Gandhi Dismisses State Government

NEW DELHI (NYT) — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi dismissed the popularly elected Mizoram National Front government in the northeastern state of Mizoram on Wednesday and ordered central rule after more than a week of political instability there.

A spokesman for the Home Affairs Ministry said that the 40-member state legislature had been dissolved and that elections would be held. The move followed the dismissal of the state legislature in the nearby state of Nagaland in August.

The Mizoram government, led by the former insurgent leader, Laldenga, defeated Mr. Gandhi's Congress Party in elections last year. When Mizoram became a state, The Home Affairs Ministry spokesman said New Delhi expected Mr. Laldenga to "work within the constitution."

For the Record

The death toll in Greece after an explosion ripped through an oil tanker was put at four on Wednesday by the merchant marine ministry. The victims were maintenance workers. Shipyard workers went on strike to protest inadequate safety measures after the blast.

The United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, said on Wednesday that the UN-mediated peace talks between Iran and Iraq were deadlocked, with no sign of movement by either side. "I would be lying if I were to tell you it's okay, there'll be a breakthrough tomorrow," Mr. Pérez de Cuellar said.

TRAVEL UPDATE

France May Ease Visa Requirements

PARIS (Reuters) — France is considering easing its strict visa requirements for visitors from outside the European Community, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said on Wednesday. Entry procedures were tightened after a wave of bomb attacks two years ago.

Mr. Dumas, interviewed on the French radio, said the government was studying the possibility of easing the regulations for European countries outside the European Community, after approaches from several governments. A Foreign Ministry spokesman said the government was contemplating issuing visas for longer periods or speeding up the application procedure. Mr. Dumas did not mention visa requirements for countries outside Europe. The original ruling, which exempted only Switzerland and Liechtenstein, sparked protests from European countries not members of the 12-nation EC.

Britain Keeps in Touch Though Mail Piles Up

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

LONDON — The postal strikes of the last week have paralyzed the Royal Mail, but with the help of modern technologies and traditional British ingenuity, they have hurt but not yet paralyzed the national economy, nor repressed the English epistolary urge.

So far, there have been no headlines saying "Mail Stops in England" — Continent Cut Off, but there has been no international mail service to or from the British Isles all week.

Even with mailboxes sealed shut almost everywhere, 84 million letters and packages were stuck in warehouses and sorting centers. And when the British people do find alternative ways of communicating with each other, most of them cost considerably more than the 19 pence (32 cents) it takes since a one-penny rate increase Monday to mail a first-class letter.

Letters to the editor of The Times, an institution for a century, might be as unwritten as the British constitution but for the existence of the telefax machine.

A letter, titled by the editor "Poste restante," did arrive, and was published Wednesday: "Sir, I note the increases in postal charges today. I assure this is to cover the additional cost of stamps."

Others took consolation in credit card bills and bank statements not being received, though not the credit card companies and banks.

A spokesman for American Express Europe Ltd. said it was advising customers to pay their bills by automatic bank transfer but would be "sensible," depending on how long the stoppage lasted, about dunning clients who said the check was in the mail.

One company used a local messenger service to take a single letter 120 miles (195 kilometers) to Redditch; even though the £130 cost was "ghastly expensive," the executive who authorized it said.

The strike, which began last week over the issue of bonus incentive payments to encourage recruitment and retention of low-paid postal employees in the London area, showed little sign of quick settlement at mid-week.

DOONESBURY

A POLL WAS QUICKLY TAKEN.

MAM, WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A CANDIDATE IF HE BORE A PINK BUSH-BLANK TO ROBERT RECTOR?

ARE YOU NUTS? OF COURSE, I WOULD.

SURE, I'D VOTE FOR HIM. ANYONE THAT GOOD LOOKING MUST STAND FOR REALLY GOOD THINGS.

HEY, SURE, I'D VOTE FOR HIM. ANYONE THAT GOOD LOOKING MUST STAND FOR REALLY GOOD THINGS.

YES, IT'S TIME FOR A CHANGE. I THINK MOST WOMEN WANT A REALLY HOT GUY TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE COUNTRY.

THEY WANT SOMEONE CUTE!

YOU GOT THE JOB, DANN!

OH, ON BOY!

THE POLL, ALAS, WAS NOT ADJUSTED FOR SARCASM.

THEY WANT SOMEONE CUTE!

YOU GOT THE JOB, DANN!

OH, ON BOY!

FLOOD: Epidemics Are Feared

(Continued from Page 1)

able, however, it will be impossible for many victims to get any care, a situation that worries officials.

"We have the supplies," said Taslim Rahman, a senior official in the health ministry. "The problem is distribution."

The ministry, with the help of the research center, is putting more than 80 mobile health teams into the field in the Dhaka area, which remains half under water. Officials seem unclear, however, about what will happen in the countryside.

Fears of what the future holds are already becoming apparent at crowded refugee centers in the capital. More than 5,000 people are crowded into the Sherabanga-Nagar Girls High School. Only a day ago, the three-story building was surrounded by floodwaters, but now the waters have dropped and the courtyard, the only latrine for the building, has become a perfect breeding ground for disease.

Dr. Sikandar Ali, who is running a small clinic at the high school, says that so far he has seen only mild cases of diarrhea but that the conditions are deteriorating.

While the government says it is delivering food daily to all relief centers, the refugees at the high school have seen only two deliveries in the nine days they have been

there — some rice one day, and a bit of gruel on another. Even then, there was not enough rice to go around, according to one of the refugees.

One physician said, "I went to one camp where the drains were full of human waste. As long as there was water, it was not so bad, but as soon as the water went down, there was nothing but stench. They are so packed in these places. If meningitis or some other problem starts, it would spread unchecked."

Nations Pledge Aid

Donor nations have pledged millions of dollars in aid to Bangladesh. The New York Times reported from Washington.

Japan has pledged \$13 million in food, and money for the lease of two helicopters and medical equipment. A Japanese medical team has already arrived in Bangladesh.

The United States has initially pledged nearly \$3.6 million in food, transportation and other emergency aid, a State Department spokesman said Tuesday.

Herald Tribune

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Danish Chief Sees A Poll and Vows To Lower Taxes

Reuters

COPENHAGEN — A big shift to the right among Danish voters has prompted the center-right government of Prime Minister Poul Schlüter into promising tax cuts.

Mr. Schlüter acted after a Gallup Poll, published Sunday in a Danish newspaper, showed that if an election were held now, the anti-tax, anti-immigration Progress Party would increase its seats in parliament from 16 to 39.

Mr. Schlüter has called the Progress Party's call for tax cuts unrealistic, but he announced Tuesday that the government hoped to reduce taxes in its 1990 budget, providing public spending could be cut. He said on television that as leader of a minority coalition government he was forced to make political compromises.

The Progress Party leader, Mogens Glistrup, said the growth in support for his party was a reaction to tax bills sent out in the summer.

CHINA: Talks Reassure Carlucci

(Continued from Page 1)

China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, who made the most convincing arguments in a meeting on Wednesday.

According to the Xinhua press Agency, Mr. Deng told Mr. Carlucci, "Here you can see with your own eyes that China is a trustworthy and responsible country."

Speaking at a news conference, Mr. Carlucci said Chinese leaders had emphasized that they would never sell nuclear weapons to foreign nations and wanted to pursue policies that would contribute to peace and stability.

Mr. Carlucci also said he had no problem with U.S. approval of the launching of U.S.-made satellites aboard Chinese Long March rockets, an issue raised by Chinese leaders in the talks.

The defense secretary said the Chinese "clearly attach great importance" to the establishment of a Chinese satellite launching service that could suffer serious losses if the U.S. government refused to issue export licenses for U.S. communications satellites.

Defense Department officials said Chinese leaders had raised the issue with Mr. Carlucci and urged the Reagan administration to give the go-ahead for the Chinese launching of U.S. satellites.

Farm Chief Dies In East Germany

Reuters

BERLIN — Werner Felke, a member of the East German Politburo who had been mentioned as a possible successor to Erich Honecker, the East German leader, died Wednesday at age 60.

Mr. Felke had been a Politburo member since 1976, and since 1981 he had been the Central Committee secretary responsible for the country's agriculture sector. No details of his death were given, but Western diplomats said his death must have been sudden because he was inspecting the grain harvest until a few days ago.

His was one of a small number of names frequently mentioned in diplomatic and East German circles as a possible successor to Mr. Honecker, 76.

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Oregon Workers Boo Bush

They Challenge Economic Stand

By Gerald M. Boyd

PORTLAND, Oregon — Vice President George Bush's message of economic prosperity was engulfed by a wave of boos and objections when he addressed rank-and-file union members at a shipyard here.

The heckling on Tuesday was the most persistent and severe that the Republican presidential nominee had encountered in his campaign.

In Illinois, meanwhile, a speech by Governor Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee, turned into an angry confrontation between anti-abortion protesters and members of the audience. There were bitter chants and counter-chants and repeated outbreaks of shoving and scuffling.

During Mr. Bush's speech in Portland, workers expressed concern over job security and pay levels under a Bush administration.

Although the vice president called the confrontation a "good challenge," some supporters said the event had been a mistake.

Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, who introduced Mr. Bush, said he would not have recommended that he appear at the shipyard.

Mr. Bush was visiting the Northwest Marine Iron Works Co., which repairs and refurbishes civilian and military vessels. It employs 1,200 people.

Mr. Hatfield tried to warn up a crowd of about 500 workers by reminding them of the Reagan administration, and Mr. Bush in particular, with changing regulations to allow civilian shipyards to bid on repair work previously performed at navy yards.

But he did not sway the crowd, whose hostility was evident even before the vice president appeared on the stage.

The first mention of Mr. Bush drew boos and the thumbs-down sign from workers, and the reception slid downhill from there.

The vice president had to shout over jeers as he asserted that the economy was strong and was growing stronger.

In the last year alone, America

OREGON WELCOMES GEORGE BUSH



Despite the sign, Mr. Bush got a decidedly mixed Oregon welcome from shipyard workers.

has added 473,000 new manufacturing jobs, close to half a million," he said at one point.

"And compare that from the last time the liberal Democrats were in power."

Voices from a sea of hard hats repeatedly challenged him to explain what he would do about the federal deficit or whether the 18 million new jobs he said had been created under President Ronald Reagan paid a decent wage. His answers drew taunts from workers, who called him a "union buster" and shouted, "Bush go home!"

Dukakis Is Heckled

Robin Toner of The New York Times reported from Niles, Illinois:

Mr. Dukakis was heckled for the second day in a row by abortion protesters on Tuesday; about 200 of them tried to drown him out at a town meeting in Philadelphia on Monday.

Joseph Scheidler, the executive director of the Pro-Life Action

League, who was among the protesters Tuesday, said similar demonstrations were planned "around the country."

In his speech, Mr. Dukakis continued his effort to paint the Republicans as the party of privilege. "Those Republicans in Washington love to blame American workers first," he said.

"They don't understand that solidarity isn't just a beautiful word in Polish," he told an audience that included many Polish-Americans. "It's also a beautiful word in English."

"That's why they've spent the last seven years trying to break unions and pit management against labor."

But the abortion disruption began the moment Mr. Dukakis rose to speak on Tuesday morning at a social hall in Niles, outside Chicago, where he was campaigning among the ethnic voters central to the hopes of a Democratic victory this fall.

From a small number of abor-

tion protesters scattered around the hall rose an instant chorus of "What about abortion?" and "Abortion is murder!"

Mr. Dukakis tried to control the outburst, telling the protesters, "I would hope you would respect my right to speak."

But the heckling persisted, touching off an angry reaction from the rest of the crowd. Several members of the audience forcibly ejected about six of the protesters, amid shouts of "Get 'em out!" and chants of "Let Mike speak!"

At a news conference on Tuesday afternoon, the Democratic presidential nominee reaffirmed his support for a woman's right to choose an abortion.

"While I don't favor abortion or think it's a good thing," he said, "I happen to think that in the last analysis it's up to the woman, in the exercise of her own conscience and religious beliefs, to make that decision."

2 Cosmonauts Manage Landing on 3d Attempt

By Felicity Barringer

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — A Soviet cosmonaut and his Afghan co-pilot returned safely to Earth on Wednesday after a tense 24 hours spent trying to correct equipment failures on their spacecraft that had thwarted two earlier landing attempts.

Tass reported that the commander, Colonel Vladimir Lyakhov, 47, and his crewman, Captain Abdul Ahad Mohmand, 29, touched down in their Soyuz TM-3 at 4:30 A.M. in Kazakhstan.

The two failures had raised the possibility that the craft would have to be landed manually outside the Soviet Union, but on the third attempt it was guided to the ground by computer.

The two astronauts became stalled in orbit while they were on their way home after ferrying a doctor to the manned Mir space station.

Preparing for re-entry, the astronauts had already jettisoned the craft's living compartment, which contains the apparatus essential for docking with Mir.

The problems began Tuesday morning when an infrared sensor, which measures heat from the Earth to orient the craft for re-entry, malfunctioned.

According to Tass, the sensor incorrectly indicated to a computer that the craft was improperly oriented.

"Sun rays prevented the sensor from coming into operation," Alexander Alexandrov, an astronaut, said at a briefing for reporters at the ground-control center, according to Tass. "The electronic computer regarded that as loss of orientation and inhibited the switching on of the deceleration motor."

A second orientational sensor also malfunctioned, and by the time the astronauts were able to override the sensors, they had already gone too far to touch down in Kazakhstan.

The second attempt to land was

thwarted when the deceleration motor burned for just 6 seconds instead of the required 230, Tass said. The computer program that controls the motor had not been properly checked and cleared after the first failure, Tass said.

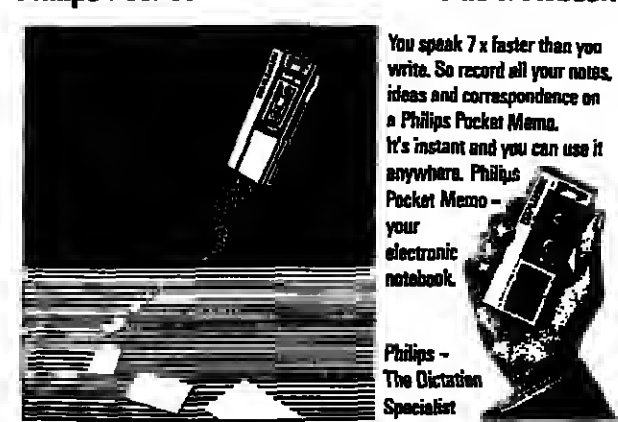
According to James E. Oberg, a contractor at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, the failures probably occurred because of the timing of the flight.

The mission was originally scheduled for July 1989 but in February of this year was suddenly moved forward, apparently to put an Afghan astronaut in space before Soviet troops had completed their departure from Afghanistan.

The new schedule required launching and landing times in the early morning, Mr. Oberg said. "That means the sunrise and sunset times along the orbit were unusual," he said.

The initial failure of the infrared orientational sensors is likely to have occurred because Soviet astronauts have little or no experience with decelerating at dawn, he said.

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Deng Backs 'Old Friend' Bush in U.S. Race

BEIJING — China's elder statesman, Deng Xiaoping, surprised U.S. guests Wednesday by saying that he hoped his "old friend" George Bush would win the U.S. presidential election in November.

"Please convey my greetings to President Reagan and Vice President Bush when you return home," Mr. Deng told the U.S. defense secretary, Frank C. Carlucci, as reporters looked on.

"Both of them are my old friends," Mr. Deng said. "Vice President Bush used to be Mr. Lord's predecessor so we had a lot of contacts. I hope he will be victorious in the elections."

The U.S. ambassador, Winston Lord, Mr. Carlucci and other delegation members burst into laughter, eliciting a chuckle from Mr. Deng.

Mr. Bush was head of the U.S. liaison office in Beijing from 1974

to 1976 before the United States severed relations with Taiwan and formally recognized Beijing as the government of China in 1979.

Apparently taken aback by Mr. Deng's outspoken declaration of support for Mr. Bush, Mr. Carlucci quickly changed the subject.

He noted that he was the fourth U.S. secretary of defense to visit China and that the two countries had a solid military relationship.

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Death and Development

Tragedies of a sort beyond the imagining of most people have caught up Bangladesh and Burundi. Third World countries whose affairs seldom flash on the West's political screens. In Bangladesh, rampant flooding has left two-thirds of the country covered by water; hundreds if not thousands of people have lost their lives, and the economic devastation, in a country already one of the poorest in the world, surpasses calculation. In Burundi, the ruling minority Tutsi tribe has savagely murdered more than 20,000 members of the majority Hutu tribe. The flooding in Bangladesh, a South Asian country of 110 million people, is an act of nature greatly aggravated by multiple acts of man. Everywhere the poor are pushed to the marginal land, which becomes more marginal when, as in Bangladesh, it is overexploited and underprotected. "Development" becomes a desperate battle to overcome a constant threat of catastrophe. When the battle is lost, and on such a huge scale, relief becomes the overwhelming priority. Bangladesh asks for help now, and deserves it, but even aid that the donors regard as generous will leave the country struggling to get back on the track of the modest progress it was making before.

The appalling killings in Burundi are notable not simply for their brutality but for being part of an established pattern of Tutsi rule. The tribe killed 100,000 Hutus in an earlier frenzy. The latest massacre has touched off cries for a boycott of the country by aid donors, especially the World Bank, which has found Burundi pleasingly open to its economic counsel and has sought to make the country an African showcase. A case can be made that externally guided development offers a feasible hope of eventually softening Burundi's apartheid-like policy, but it is a case that dissolves in the face of the Tutsi government's bent for genocide.

As in respect to Bangladesh, outsiders contemplating events in Burundi can be under no illusion that their ministrations will make a great difference. But compassion for the victims must be the central impulse directing foreign response. In Bangladesh that means extending a hand, and in Burundi it means withdrawing one.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Return to Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, self-conscious torchbearer for the nonaligned Third World, can be a very prickly friend. Yet it is also a heartening example of racial coexistence and sensible economic management in a troubled region and a victim of the dislocations brought about by the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Washington has wisely ended a two-year freeze on economic aid. Eight years ago the United States opened newly independent Zimbabwe's first foreign embassy and pledged a generous, three-year, \$225 million aid package. But soon the rhetorical stridency of Robert Mugabe's government began to take its toll. In 1984, mostly in reaction to Zimbabwean votes at the United Nations, the Reagan administration cut aid almost in half. The remainder stopped in 1986, after a Zimbabwean cabinet minister affronted former President Carter at a Fourth of July reception with an offensive anti-Washington tirade.

That was undiplomatic on Zimbabwe's part. But ending U.S. aid was an overreaction, and risked pushing Zimbabwe into yet more antagonistic policies. Fortunately, Zimbabwe has proved wiser and bled to a steady course. Racial reconciliation has replaced years of hatred. Black farmers, helped by credit programs and extension services, fair market prices and good transportation and storage, regularly produce surplus grains — even after five years of drought. And last year Mr. Mugabe signed a "unity agreement" with his longtime rival Joshua Nkomo to end years of division.

Still, Zimbabwe faces severe problems. The economy has grown too slowly to absorb an expanding, increasingly educated work force. Foreign investment lags. Meanwhile Zimbabwe, vulnerable to South Africa's concerted effort to destabilize its neighbors, spends half a million dollars a day on a security force in Mozambique.

Earlier this year, Mr. Mugabe adopted the new title of executive president as part of the march from parliamentary democracy toward a socialist one-party state. Yet for all these trappings, Zimbabwe is not to be written off as predictable.

Given Zimbabwe's prospects for stable and harmonious development, and its leadership in remaining involved. By promising \$17 million over three years to stimulate rural development and private business, the administration serves that interest.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Whose Election Is It?

A compromise has now been struck: George Bush and Michael Dukakis will square off in two televised debates later in the campaign. Two is better than none, but this is still a disappointing conclusion that cheats voters and leaves the campaign too much in the hands of the image-makers.

Like it or not, modern American politics takes place largely on television. It is there, through paid and unpaid propaganda, that the candidates seek to define themselves and their agendas. Modern campaigning has thus become an exercise in imagery; a relentless, costly search for the right 30-second advertisement, the perfectly orchestrated "photo opportunity."

But television also gives content to what so far has been a campaign devoid of substance, and thereby provides voters with some basis for meaningful choice. The new bipartisan Commission on Presidential Debates originally made arrangements for three debates. That at least would have been a sensible minimum.

The Dukakis camp also wanted three or more debates. Vice President Bush, aware of Governor Dukakis's formidable reputation as a debater and reluctant to give him an equalizing platform, responded with a take-it-or-leave-it offer of two. The result is unsatisfactory on several levels. If Mr. Bush has his way, the two debates will cover many subjects and lack focus — and will occur between Sept. 25 and Oct. 17, when some voters will be diverted by the World Series and the Olympics.

But in a deeper sense, the bargain between the candidates betrays an indifference to ordinary voters. The Democrats were certainly more forthcoming about debates this year. But increasingly, the governing assumption in both parties is that the election belongs to the candidates, not the public.

True, debates are an imperfect mechanism. True, past formats have sometimes been cumbersome. True, the primary debates were farcical — too little time, too many candidates. But consider the alternative: nine more weeks of visual bits, of fevered jockeying for just the right symbolic backdrop: the Statue of Liberty to convey patriotism, the aircraft carrier to convey resolve, the welfare line to convey compassion.

Would it not be more enlightening to have a moderator ask Mr. Bush how he intends to deal with the deficit, and give Mr. Dukakis a chance to say it up? Or ask Mr. Dukakis about nonmilitary aid to the Contras, and allow Mr. Bush to follow up?

The public would get more than information. One-on-one encounters would yield valuable clues about personality and poise under pressure. Few aspects of modern politics are wholly uncharted, debates included. But debates (the more the better) offer elements of spontaneity and honesty wholly lacking in today's battle of the visuals.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The Navy Goes Too Far

Lieutenant Elizabeth Susan Unger, an officer in the U.S. navy, is entirely willing to be tested for drug use. She is willing to submit a urine specimen for analysis. She is even willing to be searched immediately beforehand to assure the navy that she is not going to switch specimens. But she is not willing to produce the specimen under the watchful gaze of another person, as the navy requires. She thinks that the mandatory observation is demeaning and an invasion of privacy.

The lieutenant is right. The observation requirement goes too far. Granted, drug use is a major menace in the military services, and the services need to act forcefully to identify users. Civilian ideas of propriety do not always apply to the armed forces. But if the country wants honorable people to serve it, it must deal with them honorably.

Lieutenant Unger is not suspected of using drugs. If there were any indication that she might be a user, it would be a different case. Then the navy might be justified in demanding specimens taken under observation. But the lieutenant, an Annapolis graduate, is a convinced teetotaler who does not smoke, and when she says

that she has never even seen illegal drugs, there is nothing in her conduct to make anyone think otherwise. She was called to take part in a routine sweep in which navy personnel are tested at random. In those circumstances, the right to privacy outweighs the navy's need for a witness.

It is curious that the navy, which is prepared to take an officer's word of honor in many matters of high importance, wants a witness here. Now that Lieutenant Unger has resisted the rule, the navy may be tempted to dig in its heels and insist that the issue is no longer drug testing but discipline and obedience. It would be equally fair to say that the issue is the navy's respect for the people who wear its uniform.

Certain kinds of drug testing are necessary in the services, as in a handful of civilian occupations. The testing has to be done with a sense of balance and discretion. There is always a tendency among administrators to lean toward excessive rules for the sake of neatness. But there is no one in the chain of command with the wisdom to take another look at these rules before first destroying a young officer's career?

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

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Different Perestroikas for Different Folks

By Boris Kagarlitsky

MOSCOW — Once almost unanimous in their support of Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to restructure Soviet society, Soviet intellectuals are increasingly divided in their assessment of his goals. While the right-wing Stalinist opposition to reform has attracted greater attention, the split within the left has become deeper as Mr. Gorbachev has pressed his drive for perestroika.

The two camps professing ardor for perestroika for Mr. Gorbachev — the technocratic elite and the new left — each claim to be the keepers of the true perestroika. Both support liberalization of society and moves toward greater individual freedom.

But these camps differ strongly on two fundamental questions. One is economic: the proper balance between markets and social justice. The other is political: How much should the general public be allowed to participate in real decision-making?

Everyone, even the most extreme conservative, is conscious of the need for certain transformations. But various social groups understand Mr. Gorbachev's call for perestroika differently — in accordance with their own interests and ideas.

The scientific and managerial elite, the technocratic class, for a perestroika that emphasizes free-market principles and that is likely to hurt the standard of living of the average man.

The leftist intelligentsia favors a more humanistic view of government and economy, oriented not just to material well-being but to more spiritual goals.

The expert elite continue to supply the newspapers and magazines with brilliantly written articles sharply criticizing the old "command-administrative system" and calling for a deep reassessment of its value. The most fashionable authors — Gavril K. Popov, Nikolai Shmelev — argue for abolishing state production subsidies, increasing managers' rights, creating "a little bit of unemployment" and generally allowing greater inequality.

There is talk of converting state enterprises to shareholder groups that eventually would sell stock to private individuals, of maximizing the initiative of small private enterprise, and, possibly, lowering the standard of living somewhat for a majority of the population.

The idea of a consumer society is being rehabilitated, as is the idea of profit.

Naturally, conservative Western experts approve of these ideas. But should we in the Soviet Union approve of them? Letters to newspapers, occasional

public opinion surveys and conflicts arising here and there provide evidence of public resistance.

Workers, understandably, fear that propagandists of "free competition" simply want to force them to work harder for their former salaries. This may not worry the scientific and managerial elite, protected by its privileges. But perestroika for the elite may contradict perestroika for the people.

Many radical representatives of the intelligentsia are also dissatisfied with the view of perestroika put forth by the technocrats. Their disappointment has been one of the most important stimuli for the swift growth of "informal" left-wing groups in 1987-88.

Of course, various left-wing currents, from independent Marxists and ecologists to avant-garde poets, existed among the intelligentsia long before Mr. Gorbachev came to power. Yet during the first years of perestroika these groups were content with the role of loyal allies of the reform establishment, and each was preoccupied with its own special concerns.

Ecologists struggled for the protection of nature, the cultural movement in cities saved old buildings and socialists organized discussions on problems of self-government, led campaigns for the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism, and so on.

More than anything, the issue of "reform" — the technocrats' call for price increases based on the market — brought the elements of the left together in a common sense of disenchantment. Cooperation among the leftist groups grew stronger.

In August 1987, at an unofficial conference on social initiatives in perestroika, the basic left-wing groups gathered for the first time. Late July, 29 of the most politicized clubs, with a combined membership of about 1,000 activists, formed the Popular Front for Perestroika.

The leftists are united by the conviction that worshipping the market is no better than extolling the central economic plan. The conformism of

consumption is equal to the conformism of general bureaucratic subordination. By erecting profit in place of the plan, we are not making our economy any more humane, nor even more efficient. We may be only robbing consumers and lowering the workers' standard of living.

"We are not against the market and material incentives," announced one of the left-wing ideologists, the economist and psychologist Yuri Morozov. But certainly free time, not only money, is a material incentive.

The leftists stand for the priority of ecological and cultural values, for an economy oriented to fundamental human needs. In this regard, the Soviet movement of left-wing clubs is strongly reminiscent of the Western new left of the 1960s and the Greens in contemporary West Germany.

A few of the leftists' ideas might appear utopian. However, the clubs actually are devoting great attention to concrete programs on various questions and, where possible, they are trying to realize their ideas on the spot — for example, in the sphere of school and student self-government.

In Moscow, Leningrad, Krasnoyarsk and Taganrog, dozens of independent left-wing bulletins are published — Left Turn, Community, Mercury, Chronicle of the Social Movement, Open Zone, Intersection of Ideas. Their combined distribution amounts to thousands of copies.

Conservative forces in the government and party apparatus have sensed a serious threat to themselves in the growth of this movement. Groups active in Moscow, Minsk, Leningrad, Taganrog and Krasnoyarsk have been the objects of sharp attacks in the official press, both local and central, although many progressively oriented publications in Moscow and the provinces continue to disseminate truthful information about leftist groups.

The future of Soviet new leftists depends on many things, not least the hope that the promises of a greater democratic role for forces outside the Communist Party will be fulfilled. But one thing can be said: A new factor that cannot be ignored has emerged in the social life of the Soviet Union.

The writer, a sociologist who works for a trade union magazine, is a member of the organizing committee of the Popular Front for Perestroika, an alliance of independent leftist clubs. He contributed this column to The New York Times.

Some Soviet intellectuals, who at first supported 'restructuring,' have joined the opposition to it.

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A Defense For Dukakis On Defense

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

WASHINGTON — Though the U.S. presidential campaign has so far featured sound-bite-sized trivia, George Bush has posed at least one challenge that Michael Dukakis will have to meet, and the sooner the better.

It is the "impression," as Mr. Bush often puts it, that the Massachusetts governor is against all weapons spending and has "opposed every one of our weapons since the slingshot." Elaborating at a rally in San Diego, Mr. Bush intoned: "No MX, no Midgetman, no SDI and cannot two carrier task forces. What a program!"

Probably few of Mr. Bush's San Diego listeners could identify all the mysterious initials and nicknames. But never mind. You need not be a constant reader of Jane's Fighting Ships to see where this is heading.

Mr. Bush is appealing to the perennial unease with the defense record of Democratic administrations. Bob Dole played that worn card, all too clumsily, 12 years ago when he revived the old cry that the Democrats are the "war party."

The "war party" label is but the artless version of a more serious worry that goes something like this: Liberal Democrats, being rational and generous folks, tend to see their own good nature reflected in others and lack a visceral fear for potential bullies and mischief-makers. Accordingly, they give the impression they can be shoved around. Then, shoved once too often, they are forced to overreact with alarming and costly results. Korea, the Berlin and Cuban crises of the Kennedy years, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Timor, my Carter's shocked reaction to it are often cited as examples. There are others, going back to Woodrow Wilson's failure to keep the United States out of World War I.

Democrats find the charge as outrageous as Republican speechwriters find it useful. But it is well, perhaps, to ask why it is so persistently useful — and especially to show that he grasps at least a couple of basic points. One is the good sense of what Mr. Bush calls "strength and clarity" in foreign policy; the other is the role of credible strategic weapons. In his few remarks on this subject Mr. Dukakis has given the impression he thinks conventional weaponry will suffice to keep a secure peace.

But he need not limit himself to deflecting Mr. Bush's charges. The Reagan administration record is far from perfect. Mr. Bush fails to mention the Geneva negotiations first accepted the Mideast (the small, mobile, single-warhead missile recommended by the bipartisan Scowcroft commission), only to sabotage it in Congress as too expensive.



Mr. Bush also glides over some pertinent facts about the MX. They include the embarrassing history of how the Reagan administration scrapped the Carter plans to deploy that mobile deterrent in the Southwest, but found no alternative. The few MXs deployed are immobile sitting ducks in old Minuteman silos.

Further, Mr. Bush plausibly argues that strength is the route to arms-control agreements. But insofar as SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative, constitutes a serious element in his defense planning, it logically reduces the chances of serious cuts in offensive ballistic missiles — another goal he claims to espouse.

The point of all this is that none of the big weapons systems for which defense funds are being raised are new. Mr. Bush professes such enthusiasm for the MX that he is a dud. Arms are always wasteful. They are a bargain only by comparison to the wars they deter.

Washington Post Writers Group.

considered role to play, and hope to overawe all potential foes with sheer quantity of armaments. But that is a thing of the past.

Mr. Bush correctly insists that it is not enough to say "we already have enough weapons," as if modernization were not a necessity. But Mr. Dukakis has missed an inviting chance to zero in on the incoherent strategic record of the past eight years. There are Democrats — Senator Sam Nunn, former Navy Undersecretary James Woolsey and others — who could help him do it if asked.

So far, the volleying has been all one-way, following the usual tendency of Republican candidates to talk about defense and of Democratic candidates to talk about defense waste. Comparatively speaking, the latter is a dud. Arms are always wasteful. They are a bargain only by comparison to the wars they deter.

Washington Post Writers Group.

Some people have suggested, diverting supposedly vast savings soon to be achieved by disarmament agreements into building UN forces — sometimes the same people who already proposed using all that money for development aid and then for protecting the environment.

That is the kind of blue-sky talk that makes UN debates so rapid. The money has to come the way it always comes, from government budgets. The spotlight is now on the United States, which cannot consider its debts to the UN as another deficit to be financed by foreigners.

By the time President Reagan makes his last speech to the General Assembly this fall, he should be able to announce that America will pay its arrears.

It may be self-satisfying but it is no excuse to say that since the UN is supposed to be a "peacekeeping" body, not pay, the United States need not meet its obligations.

And it is against U.S. interests. Elliot Richardson, secretary of defense and then attorney general in the Nixon administration, points out that while relative U.S. power in the world has in fact declined, U.S. responsibility for leadership in maintaining world order remains intact.

That means a larger, more constructive role in international organizations, not stepping out.

Mr. Richardson would make a good delegate to the United Nations in a Republican administration. Whether the Republicans or the Democrats will have to be more UN-conscious.

It is good that the Soviets are changing policy. It would be folly to leave them alone in the lead.

The New York Times.

Facing Hussein's Butchery, America Tries Meekness

By Jim Hoagland

PARIS — Iraq is committing step-by-step genocide against the Kurdish people in the remote Zagros Mountains. The evidence is now so clear that the world cannot shrink from branding Iraq's actions with that horrible word and demanding an end to this calculated massacre.

The Iraqi version of genocide is being conducted in military operations stretched out over years and launched against the Kurds as opportunities permit. It does not have the manic pace or organization of Hitler's Germany or Pol Pot's Cambodia. But this must not lessen the horror, condemnation and forceful opposition that the world community and especially the Reagan administration must demonstrate if a similar tragedy is to be avoided.

Washington and the United Nations have responded with surprisingly mild rebukes as Iraq has taken advantage of the UN-sponsored cease-fire with Iran to intensify poison-gas attacks against Kurdish civilians, on a scale not known since World War I. More distressingly, the United States and other nations have taken no effective action to stop the slaughter of Kurdish civilians and the mass eviction of these Arayan tribal peoples from their mountain homes.

Such inactivity from an administration that supposedly has been building up U.S. influence and leverage in the Gulf is inexcusable. The United States spent \$200 million to place a naval shield for the past year around the shipping of Iraq's Arab allies in the war against Iran. The White House also accepted with indecent haste an Iraqi apology for the attack on the frigate Stark, which killed 37 American servicemen. In its

grudge match with Iran, the Reagan administration visibly tilted to Iraq's side, and at a high price.

But now Washington appears unable or unwilling to use the leverage it said it was obtaining to help the Kurds, or to push the Iraqis to drop the hard-line positions that have driven the Geneva negotiations on ending the Gulf War into deadlock.

Secretary of State George Shultz has given several recent speeches mixing eloquence with handwringing about the horrors of chemical weapons. When confronted with their open use by the Iraqi regime, which he has chosen to cultivate rather than confront, Mr. Shultz folds his cards.

Other countries that would be tempted to use the "poor man's atomic bomb" can conclude from the Iraqi example that they will have to pay no price internationally for doing so.

An estimated 120,000 Kurds have fled into neighboring Turkey in the past week. One measure of the atrocities being committed against the Kurds is the public outrage being voiced by the leaders of Turkey, a Moslem country that places high value on its relations with Iraq and has a reputation for suppressing its own Kurds. Nonetheless, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal was quoted by the British Broadcasting Corp. as saying that "a massacre of innocent people" is occurring in Iraq.

Where are equivalent American statements that might signal a serious international action to halt the Iraqis? In the midst of the election campaign, the Reagan White House and the State Department appear to have other things on their agendas. State

Department officials speak only of making "an expression of concern" to the Baghdad government.

Such meekness will provide no comfort or protection for the Kurds — Moslems who are racially distinct from Iraq's Arab majority. While their periodic rebellions against Baghdad in the century have been suppressed with brutality, it was only 13 years ago that "a final solution" seems to have been adopted as the Iraqi option of choice for the troublesome Kurds.

In 1975, the shah of Iran signed a border agreement with Iraq and gave his ruler, Saddam Hussein, a free hand in Kurdistan rather than continue a costly frontier war. The United States went along with the shah, who had been funneling U.S.-supplied weapons to the rebel Kurdish army led by the legendary warrior Mullah Mustafa Barzani.

I was with Mr. Barzani in the Zagros when the end came that March. Anger and sorrow consumed him as he told me that he had risked everything because he had trusted the United States. He had expected betrayal by the shah; that was why he had insisted that America be deeply involved in supporting the rebellion from the beginning. In defeat, he asked for U.S. humanitarian help to prevent the destruction of his people.

But over the next year, the Iraqis faced no international opposition as they destroyed thousands of Kurdish villages and resettled as many of the Kurds in Arab-dominated regions as they could. After the Iran-Iraq war erupted in 1980, surviving Kurdish fighters threw in their lot with Tehran. This time it was a truce with the

ayatollahs that has enabled Iraq to have another go at removing the Kurds from their homeland, with the new wrinkle of poison gas thrown in. This time Saddam Hussein's intention of depopulating Kurdistan may be within his grasp.

It is unthinkable that he will benefit once again from official American indifference and/or impotence that will be justified in the name of maintaining influence in the Arab world.

The Washington Post.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1888: For Protectionism
NEW YORK — [The Republican politician James] Blaine, in his Bangor, Maine speech, contrasted the policy of the two parties: "Never in the history of the world has there been such progress in the development of agriculture, such vast accumulation of material wealth, as have been realized in the United States since the policy of Protection was adopted in 1861. The benefits have reached every section, every State. President Cleveland now proposes to interfere with the system of Protection which has wrought these great results. I do not believe the people of the United States will approve the President's policy."

1913: Turkish Battleship
LONDON — In the battleship Reshadieh, which was launched by the Vickers Company at Barrow [Sept. 3], Turkey has a vessel equal in size and speed to any yet put afloat for a Mediterranean power. Except for the

Responding To the UN's Cry for Help

By Flora Lewis

MOSCOW — The United Nations has long been hunkering into disaster, in a humble and impotent. The main thing done about it was to ignore the world organization. But since the Soviet Union unexpectedly changed its position, chances are starting to improve, making it work. The policy is part of Mikhail Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign affairs. Essentially, it is a recognition that military power is not enough to ensure Soviet influence in the world, that major war cannot be contemplated, and that Soviet domestic needs would be better served by pulling back from regional conflicts and by focusing on solving them.

It follows logically that Moscow is seeking now to revitalize the UN, since that is the best place for it to pursue a role that was getting difficult to sustain unilaterally.

A number of steps have already been taken, including paying dues. Moscow is now hosting a conference here on the "role of the United Nations in an interdependent world." Caution is called for in assessing how far this will take the Soviet Union toward becoming peacekeepers consistently and promises of cooperation in the UN will be fulfilled.

For one thing, there are too many Soviet proposals, on every aspect of UN operation, and many are too vaguely grandiose to take in earnest.

For another, the momentum of Mr. Gorbachev's reforms remains in its own doubt. It is easier to change Soviet foreign policy than to restructure the Soviet economy, so the direction of this decision is probably irrelevant. But an ominous debate is swirling, especially about Stalin and the origins of the Cold War, actually challenges the new line that "class analysis" does not apply to issues of world security.

"Class analysis" means simply that everything wrong is the fault of imperialists and capitalists, and that Communists have a monopoly of good ideas and good intentions.

The argument echoes in reverse the warnings of U.S. hard-liners about letting down the guard against the still, official Soviet policy now is to strengthen the world system, undermined by East-West conflict.

All the other things wrong with UN have been enumerated on its flawed foundation. The general's recent successes in regional wars are not to the new Soviet line.

Not surprisingly, prospects for peace in Afghanistan, Angola, the Western Sahara and Cambodia and between Iran and Iraq have excited a mania to "let the UN do it." Iraq is saying the UN should assure clearance of the Shatt al-Arab, clogged by Shiite ships. Some Palestinians talk of turning territories occupied by Israel over to temporary UN administration.

Ironically, inflated and unrealistic ambitions for UN responsibilities are coming along just when the organization is running out of money. It can't pay for what it already has to do and will soon need to do.

Some people have suggested, diverting supposedly vast savings soon to be achieved by disarmament agreements into building UN forces — sometimes the same people who already proposed using all that money for development aid and then for protecting the environment.

That is the kind of blue-sky talk that makes UN debates so rapid. The money has to come the way it always comes, from government budgets. The spotlight is now on the United States, which cannot consider its debts to the UN as another deficit to be financed by foreigners.

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The New York Times.

French battleships recently launched, the Reshadieh is superior to the latest ships to take the water in the Mediterranean, whether the comparison is made on the ground of displacement, tonnage, or gun power. No new armored ship has been launched by Turkey for thirty years. The Porte seems now intent on making up lost time.

1938: Palestine Battle
JERUSALEM — Three soldiers of the Royal Ulster Rifles were killed and an officer and two men were wounded early this morning [Sept. 7] when a land mine exploded under a British Army truck as it was patrolling the frontier between Palestine and Syria near the village of Telmar. According to incomplete reports, British troops, backed up by a company of rebels near Acre. Armed men raided municipal offices of Jaffa this morning, they raided the central police station and stole fourteen rifles and a large quantity of ammunition.

O'INION

An Anemic Next President,
A Red-Blooded Congress

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Republicans have learned from Ronald Reagan to look on the bright side of everything. From deficits (growth stimulated by them) to Mikhail Gorbachev (good liberals come from Moscow, not Russia). So Republicans, preaching what Mr. Reagan practices, had reason to expect their presidential campaign to recover from its rocky start.

Mr. Reagan himself had an awful start in 1980 when he said, among other interesting things, that trees cause pollution. He arrived at a rally and found a tree decorated with this sign: "Chop me down before I kill again."

But his year, both parties' campaigns are likely to produce an anemic

With Dukakis or Bush we are apt to enter an era of unheroic politics and of an attendant legislature.

present and therefore produce congressional government. Such government will be the result of a second consecutive vacuum election.

In 1984, there barely was an election. There was an Olympics and Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U.S.A." tour, and in that celebratory atmosphere Mr. Reagan elevated contentment to a political platform: "Morning in America... Back and standing tall." The result was a landslide without a mandate and the reassertion of the national norm: congressional government.

In 1988 the winner wins principally because he is not the other guy, then by 1992 the nation will have gone 12 years without a clarifying, energizing choice. With either Mr. Dukakis or Mr. Bush we are apt to enter an era of unheroic politics. It will be an era more typical of American experience than either the Reagan era or the Kennedy era that Mr. Dukakis invokes so insistently.

Under either Mr. Dukakis or Mr. Bush, few Americans are apt to regard the presidency heroically, as many did under, say, Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy. Few will regard it as a tone-setting institution imparting fundamental direction to national life. Conservatives, with their Jeffersonian impulses, may say: Spilled. That role is not for government, let alone the central government.

But Alexander Hamilton, a source of a more sensible conservatism, warned that energy in the executive is a prerequisite of good government.

A weak presidency does not produce sweet passivity in Washington and the blighting of 100 flowers of local control. Rather, it produces congressional ascen-

Washington Post Writers Group.



Behind the Elgin Dispute

C. L. Sulzberger's article ("The Elgin Marbles Belong in Athens," Aug. 16) is

curious concoction of fact and misinformation by omission. While it is true that Lord Elgin far exceeded the authorization given him "to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or sculptures thereon" it is equally true that he was only doing what innumerable hordes did before and after. This too, excuse of course, but one does tire of such after-the-fact morality.

For centuries no one in Greece had the slightest interest in preserving its antiquities. Indeed, the church deared the statues pagan idols, works of the devil, and it had the superstitious peasants so afraid of them that when fairs found statues while plowing fields, they were broken and burned. Succeeding Greek governments ought to have little of these discovered treasures that marbles continued to be burned.

Their value as lime was more than the government would pay for the — of them even the cost of removing them. While Mr. Sulzberger means war between France and England, neglects to mention that Lord Elgin was captured by the French. Lady Elgin was released for a ransom of £100,000, where she lived with another man and later divorced Lord Elgin, who was left destitute. The cost of transporting and storing the marbles forced him to offer them to the British Museum. The on "silly" part of the deal was that a museum paid such a miserable sum.

While no one doubts the priority of the Greek culture minister in wanting the marbles back, it is also that she

and the government, have gotten considerable political mileage from her quest. Funds are being raised for a new museum in the meantime the treasures already in the museums are often badly displayed and badly labeled, while others lie in basements. The Acropolis is disfigured by a temporary building far more obtrusive than need be (covered by large plaques of the organization helping in the restoration), and Mr. Sulzberger worries about Lord Elgin wanting his name on his collection?

ROBIN WOOD.

The Ruling on the PLO

Regarding the news report "U.S. Won't Challenge Ruling Allowing PLO to Have Office at UN" (Aug. 30):

According to the article, the State Department considered the attempt to close the Palestine Liberation Organization's UN mission to be contrary to the Headquarters Agreement governing relations between the United States and the UN headquarters in New York.

The article says the State Department's view was "accepted" by U.S. District Judge Edmund Palmeri. But the judge never "accepted" the department's view because the department never presented such a view to his court.

The Justice Department, representing the executive branch of government, which includes the State Department, at all times presented the view that the PLO mission could and should be closed despite the Headquarters Agreement.

A reading of Judge Palmeri's superbly written and scholarly opinion reveals legal reasoning far superior to any that

She Didn't Know About Black America

By Richard Cohen

WASHINGTON — My friend came down from New York to the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta. She had lived abroad a long time, mostly in Paris and London, and had moved back to the United States some years ago — a writer come home. The first event we attended together was a gospel concert for Jesse Jackson. We were among the few whites in the audience. My friend made a few jokes and those, along with her body language, said something: She was uneasy.

Two seats, one on the aisle, opened up and we took them. The soul singer Al Green, enamored of Mr. Jackson and in wonderful voice, was singing and before long his music pulled the audience from its seats. People stood, clapped hands, sang along. Two women rushed down the aisle to be closer to the stage.

One woman was wearing a clearly backless evening gown, a complicated affair which kept succumbing to gravity. It would slip, only to be yanked up, and then slip again. I forget what her companion was wearing, but it was equally as elegant and, probably, equally as ex-

pensive. In the aisle, people danced, clapped hands and sang.

I watched the woman in the backless dress. I watched the stage. I watched Mr. Jackson, who was seated in the first row, but some of the time I watched my friend. She had never seen anything quite like this — not just the performance, not just

MEANWHILE

the audience response, but the audience itself. Here was the black middle class, maybe the upper-middle class, maybe the upper class. Here was finery and taste and, probably accounting for it, college educations and good jobs.

Later, on the curb and waiting for a cab, a parade of expensive cars promaded: Mercedes and Cadillacs, Jaguars and BMWs. We chatted with people or, sometimes, they started conversations with us. It was the usual stuff: the convention, Mr. Jackson, the difficulty of finding a cab, the awful traffic. My

friend seemed to find the unexceptional conversations downright exceptional. Later in the week, she attended a party for Mr. Jackson and ate in a famous black restaurant. My friend had discovered one of America's best-kept secrets: educated, affluent black America in its everyday ordinariness.

How could she have known? Abroad, the United States is seen as a racially troubled land. The stereotypical face of American blacks is that of the criminal, the welfare-dependent, the teen-age mother, the drug addict. It is somewhat the same here, especially in cities that are residentially segregated. Bad news drives out the good. To many white Americans the black underclass seems to be the black only-class — the defining subculture, crime menace, sump hole where tax dollars disappear.

Two years ago, I wrote a column in The Washington Post in which I sympathized with jewelry-store owners who bar young black males from their stores because they fear them. For some people, that column was further evidence of the white press's insensitivity. For me, the response to the column was an education. I took many phone calls and the theme of many — sometimes an unstated theme — had less to do with what I said than with the news media in general.

The paper that is fetched off the porch in the morning is, in a sense, a mirror. But a black who holds it up often cannot recognize himself. Instead of the guy who goes to work and raises a family, there is story after story about crime, welfare, drug addiction, low reading scores. It is as if Italians were portrayed only as members of the Mafia — as if there were no Lee Iacocca, no Joe Califano, no Mario Cuomo or, in the past, no Pasolini, Machiavelli, Garibaldi, Columbus, Leonardo, or Enrico Fermi. It is as if Jews read only about the occasional stock swindler and not about Leonard Bernstein, Albert Einstein, Franz Kafka, Kirk Douglas or Sandy Koufax.

As I was getting my education-by-pounding, the cry from the black community was for "positive stories." Some whites reacted as if that were a demand for a cover-up — to ignore bad news, to emphasize good news, to treat black politicians as if they all had no faults.

But the black critics of the media were mostly right — right about the obligation of the press to reflect the totality of black American society. My friend, in from Europe and down from New York, drove that message home. Her education — superb in many ways — had a hole in it as large as black America, 12 percent of her own country. Its complexity, its variety, were unknown to her.

The affluent black neighborhoods of Atlanta were a revelation to her — as were the restaurants, the college campuses, the audience at the Fox Theatre and the crowd that waited afterward on the street. In her manner, her consternation, she seemed to be saying, "I have no excuse." As a journalist, I could not gloat. Neither do I.

Washington Post Writers Group.

ANDREW H. BROWN.

Tourette-sur-Loup, France.

A Quayle Under Glass

Andy Warhol was right when he said we each have 15 minutes of fame. George Bush had his in New Orleans between the time he said goodbye to Ronald Reagan and the time he said hello to Dan Quayle.

FRANCIS M. S. PEEL.

Geneva.

Describing Dan Quayle as the Robert Redford of the Senate makes about as much sense as describing Sandra Day O'Connor as the Jane Fonda of the United States Supreme Court.

JOAN ELBERT.

Paris.

Mr. Quayle said that if his national guard unit had been ordered to Vietnam he would have gone. I'm happy about that. Of course he would not have had much choice, except to desert. And you do pay a stiffer penalty for desertion than for mere shirking.

OWEN DENIS JOHNSON.

Châillon-sur-Chalaronne, France.

George Bush's candidacy is in a shambles (where did he get Dan Quayle and why?) and Michael Dukakis is a dangerous liberal with dubious qualifications. I am glad I am an American living abroad.

HARRIET S. DANNENHAUER.

London.

Money Can't Make It Right

Regarding the feature "For Alito Yoshinaga, Money Isn't Enough" (Aug. 11):

The article refers to the compensation proposed to Japanese-Americans who were interned in World War II. While I can sympathize with those who had to endure internment, I believe it is unjust for today's taxpayers, especially those of the postwar generations, to have to pay for the errors of their fathers and grandfathers. Why does America think it has to pay dollars for everything?

MICHAEL MUDD.

Hong Kong.

Search for Cleaner Fuels

Regarding the New York Times editorial "The Hope for Cleaner Air" (Aug. 16):

As the editorial correctly points out, the major source of pollution is hydrocarbon fuels. It advocates switching fleets of cars and buses to clean-burning



WHY DO THEY CALL THEM FREEWAYS? WE'VE BEEN A STILL FOR THE LAST TEN MINUTES. GOOD THING THERE'S A BRIGHT SPOT ON THE HORIZON — HOME ON SINGAPORE AIRLINES BUSINESS CLASS.



Neil Farrell and Mary Savage, relatives of two IRA guerrillas killed in Gibraltar in March, arriving Wednesday at Gibraltar court.

IRA View of Gibraltar Deaths Contested

GIBRALTAR — The police chief of Gibraltar said on Wednesday that British soldiers who killed three unarmed Irish Republican Army guerrillas last March had been asked to arrest them.

"I signed the form requesting the military to intercept and apprehend the three persons," Commissioner Joseph Canepa told a coroner's inquest in the British colony.

He said he handed the document to a member of the squad which killed the guerrillas who was identified only as "F".

A British intelligence officer, hidden from public view by a screen, told the inquest earlier the soldiers believed the three were armed and could detonate a car bomb.

But he said his briefing to the seven soldiers involved in the March 6 shooting near Gibraltar's

border with Spain was based largely on guesswork.

Mr. Canepa's testimony was the first challenge by a security official at the hearings to IRA allegations that the soldiers were ordered to kill the woman and two men.

The 11-man jury must determine whether Irish Republican Army guerrillas Mairead Farrell, Daniel McCann and Sean Savage were killed lawfully.

The intelligence officer said although the security service was correct about the intended attack, it was mistaken in thinking the three were armed and planned to detonate a bomb by remote control.

He said his agency based its assumptions partly on a belief the IRA would be reluctant to use a timebomb after one it had planted in November in the Northern Ireland town of Enniskillen had killed 11 civilians.

The officer, identified only as "O", gave the first detailed official account of the killing, which sparked rioting in Northern Ireland and drew accusations that Britain operates a "shoot-to-kill" policy against guerrillas.

Testifying on the second day of the Gibraltar coroner's hearing, he stood behind a 15-foot (5-meter)

high curtain screen erected because of British government requests to conceal the identities of intelligence officers and the soldiers, believed to be from the Special Air Service. "O" was visible only to jurors and court officials.

The IRA has acknowledged that the three guerrillas, killed in a barrage of at least 27 bullets, were on a mission. But it has never given details.

The intelligence officer said security forces thought the IRA squad intended to detonate a remote-controlled bomb at a changing of the guard ceremony in the British colony on March 8.

The guerrillas were shot down shortly after leaving a parked car in Gibraltar. The jury must determine whether the killings were justified.

A car containing explosives and timing equipment linked to the guerrillas was found across the border in Spain two days after they were killed.

"We believed that in the wake of Enniskillen," the officer said, "they would be very careful about trying to avoid civilian casualties. We were wrong."

■ Murder Weapon Found
A weapon found on two suspect-

ed members of the IRA arrested last week in West Germany was used to kill a British serviceman in Ostend last month, officials told Agence France-Presse in Karlsruhe, West Germany, on Wednesday.

A spokesman for the federal prosecutor said ballistics tests had shown that at least two of the six bullets that struck Sergeant-Major Richard Heskin came from a Webley revolver found in the car used by Gerard Hanratty and Terence McGeough, arrested after illegally entering West Germany from The Netherlands on Aug. 30.

The West German police earlier said that another of the three weapons found in the car, a Kalashnikov rifle, had been used in an attack that left one off-duty British airman dead and two wounded in the Dutch town of Roermond on May 1.

■ Ulster Protestant Slain
Belfast gunmen shot and killed a one-time activist in Northern Ireland's largest Protestant paramilitary group, the Ulster Defense Association, near his Belfast home on Wednesday, Reuters reported.

The police said Billy Quee, 32, was shot outside a shop by men who fled in a waiting car.

Fossil Fuels' Pollutants Prompting Indonesia to Pres for Nuclear Power

By Michel Richardson
International Herald Tribune

SERPONG, Indonesia — Citing increased environmental concern over the exponential damage caused by burning coal and other fossil fuels, Indonesian officials are moving ahead with preparations to build nuclear power plants.

Their plans reflect a renewed interest by several Asian nations in harnessing nuclear energy for industrial development, despite the adverse public reaction to the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear plant in the Soviet Union in 1986.

A 30-megawatt nuclear research reactor in Serpong is scheduled to be formally handed over to Indonesia's National Atomic Energy Agency by the end of the year.

The reactor, housed in a seven-story concrete building in a state-owned science and technology center outside Jakarta, is the third largest of its kind in the world, after reactors in Grenoble, France, and Brodhaven, New York.

Costing \$150 million, the multipurpose reactor is designed for peaceful nuclear research and production of radioisotopes for industrial and experimental use.

Officials said it will also be used for training engineers and operators to run the nuclear power plants now being planned.

Bacharudin J. Habibie, the minister of science and technology, said in an interview that detailed studies of the best sites for nuclear power plants in Java would be ready by 1990.

He said the despite security constraints on safety, the position of President Suharto and his cabinet was "set to go ahead with preparing for nuclear power, because it will be in the future."

Mr. Habibie said that because a nuclear plant took from 10 to 15 years to build, a government would have to make a decision by 1993 on whether to proceed with construction of the first nuclear power complex could begin in 1995.

Three consortia, each of leading Japanese, European and North American nuclear suppliers, have submitted preliminary bids to the Indonesian government to build reactors, each capable of generating from 600 to 900 megawatts of power.

In a separate interview, Alimondar, a director-general in the Department of Mines and Energy, said all the potential hydroelectric and geothermal power on Java, In-

donesia's central island, had been exhausted.

He said that supplies of natural gas would be insufficient to meet the projected demand for electricity by the year 2000 and that the use of coal-burning plants would have to be restricted "because of environmental considerations."

The Indonesian officials noted that coal, gas and oil-fired generating plants released large amounts of carbon dioxide and other harmful gases into the atmosphere. Some scientists believe that the release of these gases is a major cause of the so-called greenhouse effect, a warming of the earth's atmosphere.

Hans Blix, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said during a visit to Australia in April that although the explosion at the Soviet reactor at Chernobyl had caused a loss of public confidence in nuclear power, it had not significantly influenced government decisions.

In 1987, he said, 22 new nuclear plants came on line, and since the Chernobyl accident, additional orders for commercial reactors have been placed by China, France, Japan, South Korea and Britain.

Mr. Alimondar said that "the logic for nuclear power in Indonesia is there if our 16-percent-a-year rate of growth in electricity demand in Java continues, as we think it will."

But nuclear power remains a contentious issue. Some senior Indonesian officials and environmentalists oppose the plans, arguing that it would be cheaper and safer to produce electricity using Indonesia's abundant coal and its more limited reserves of natural gas.

An additional concern is that demand for industrial power is concentrated on Java, where about 100 million of Indonesia's 175 million people live.

Referring to the Chernobyl accident, which forced the evacuation of more than 125,000 people and sent a cloud of radiation over much of Europe, Agus Purnomo, executive director of the Indonesian Environmental Forum, a private agency, said a nuclear accident in Java could be catastrophic.

"Negligence in the operation of modern facilities is an all-too-common affair in Indonesia," he said.

But in dedicating the Serpong unit, Indonesia's third nuclear research reactor, Mr. Suharto said in August 1987 that "when eventually our development effort requires the use of nuclear energy to generate electricity, we will then have mastered the technology."

ASIAN TOPICS

Kabul a Deadly Bore To Diplomatic Corps

Kabul is "a city of intrigue and rumor," Bernard Weinraub of The New York Times reports. "A dusty, primitive, pine-scented capital where the sounds of Moslem prayers, echoing over loudspeakers before dawn, merge with the clattering of Soviet-made helicopters skirting the jagged, dun-colored mountains and the deep ravines that surround the city."

Mr. Weinraub says foreign diplomats find the Afghan capital both menacing and puzzling.

"I'm not going to miss it at all," said a Middle Eastern diplomat completing a two-year tour. "It is claustrophobic. All diplomats do is talk to one another night after night, the same people. We listen to the Voice of America and the BBC. There are no contacts with Afghan officials. Who are my Afghan sources? My cook, the sweeper, the melon seller."

An American diplomat said: "It's the worst place I've been to, worse than Beirut. No social life, no restaurants, no theater, no movies, no shops. It feels like the most isolated, cut-off place in the world. It's like living in a monastery without the spiritual benefits."

Because of rocket attacks by Moslem guerrillas, most foreign diplomats are volunteers and come without their families. U.S. diplomats get 50 percent more pay to compensate for danger as well as hardship.

Around Asia

Henry Pu Yi, China's last emperor, was impatient throughout his life, though he had six wives or concubines and took hormone treatments in the 1960s, his last spouse says. Li Shunian was 37 when she married Pu Yi, then 56, in 1962. He died five years later. "He was impotent," she told Agence France-Presse in Beijing. "He was never able to have a conjugal life. If we had had a conjugal life, we would have had children."

Scientists say there are two options for decontaminating Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands, the site of 23 U.S. nuclear explosions from 1946 to 1958: scraping off all the con-

taminated soil to a depth of 15 inches (38 centimeters) or spreading potassium-rich fertilizer to reduce absorption of radioactive elements by plants. The scientists prefer potassium, which would cost the United States roughly \$90 million. The 2,000 Bikinians, now living on the island of Kili, favor scraping, which would cost far more, but are putting pressure on Washington to approve that solution.

An 80 percent majority of Filipinos favor the retention of U.S. military bases in their country, according to a government-sponsored survey of 2,000 people by the independent Asia Research Organization. Of this 80 percent, 49 percent favored the bases' continued presence without more compensation, at 6 percent said the bases stay should be revised.

The Yangtze River's "Three Gorges" have long been celebrated in the literature of China and in the hearts of its people. In a report from Sandouping, China, David Holley of the Los Angeles Times reports that after decades of preparation, the government is expected to approve building a dam there 145 meters (475 feet) high at 2.6 kilometers (1.6 miles) up the world's biggest producer of hydroelectric power. It could transform the economy of central China and save thousands of lives by controlling the floods that have devastated the upper reaches of the Yangtze for centuries. It would also diminish a natural landmark as important to China as the Grand Canyon in the United States.

Jakarta's tide of modernization is sweeping away its three-wheeled pedicabs, Michel Richardson of the International Herald Tribune reports. They are to be phased out by 1991. The pedicab, or *becak* (pronounced BET-chak), is a kind of poor man's taxi. Most are painted in the gaudy colors of folk art and have tinkling bells, instead of blaring horns to warn stray pedestrians. Starting next year, the city's 30,000 becks will gradually be replaced by motorized pedicabs and minibuses. Ed Ruchiyat Sobah, the official charge of the program, says drivers could remain in the home villages, migrate elsewhere in Indonesia or train for other jobs, all at government expense.

Arthur Higbee

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'Workaholic' Is a Problem for Hard-Driven U.S. Koreans

By John Mintz and Peter Pae

WASHINGTON Post Service
WASHINGTON — Many Sundays, when the Reverend Hui Cho preaches to his flock of several dozen families at the Korean Presbyterian Church in Beltsville, Maryland, he returns to the same theme: You must stop driving yourselves so hard, or you could be heading for physical and mental breakdowns.

Mr. Cho tells his parishioners, almost all of whom he describes as workaholic shopkeepers, that toiling 14 hours a day may earn them a good living, but also may be one reason that many feel lonely, empty, alienated from the country in which they live.

"That's my main message," said Mr. Cho, 34, who held several jobs earning his way through seminary in New York.

"The Koreans want the Cadillac, the big house, to play golf," he said. "But they have no time to spend the money. After they buy the house, they mentally collapse."

Psychological collapse is not the image most Americans have of Koreans in the United States. The nation's 800,000 Korean-Americans have a reputation as "model ethnics" who have adapted quickly to the American way of life as they pursue material success and their

obedient children bury themselves in schoolbooks.

In the District of Columbia, Koreans own most of the mom-and-pop stores — about 1,300 grocery, liquor and convenience shops — in addition to about 1,000 businesses in nearby Maryland and Virginia suburbs, where the great majority live.

In New York, Koreans control 85 percent of the city's fresh produce markets. In Los Angeles, they own banks, real estate and thousands of businesses, many of them clustered in the city's Koreatown section.

Despite this flair for commerce, Korean spokesmen, social workers and scholars across the United States concur with Mr. Cho that many Korean-Americans are paying a price for their obsessive work habits. Many immigrants are encountering serious family problems, including wife abuse, divorce and juvenile delinquency, and a range of other emotional difficulties that are considered uncommon in their home country, experts said.

Such anxieties have not stopped an explosion in the Korean population in the United States. Changes in federal immigration law in 1965 brought a huge increase in Korean immigrants, who now are one of

the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States.

The number of Korean-Americans has risen more than tenfold since 1970, when the U.S. census found 70,000 Koreans in the country. Many of them have come in the United States to get their children into U.S. universities and skirt South Korean government quotas on college admissions back home.

Already, the round-the-clock neighborhood fruit and vegetable store often run by entire Korean families, with father, mother and children helping behind the counter, is making a serious imprint on key urban centers around the United States.

But the rapid economic success of many Korean immigrant families does not necessarily translate into social contentment.

Kim Young Ja, the Washington police force's liaison to the Koreans, knows about their worries. Every week, Mrs. Kim tapes a five-minute police announcement for a Korean-language television show. The program has made her famous among local Koreans.

Now Mrs. Kim, in the tradition of the advice columns in turn-of-the-century Yiddish newspapers, has become an adviser to hundreds of lonely and disoriented Korean immigrants who call her for counsel.

Some are shop owners insulted

by anti-Korean comments. Others are upset because a child is in trouble with the police or dating an American. In keeping with Koreans' shyness about making their problems public, some callers pretend to be soliciting advice for friends and not themselves.

Kim Young Shik is also frustrated. A counselor for juvenile delinquents in Rockville, Maryland, he handles Korean cases throughout Washington's suburbs. He said the Koreans' goody-goody image is a myth.

The Korean student at Harvard, "the so-called 'model minority,'" is just the tip of the iceberg," Mr. Kim said. "Below is a big chunk of troubled Koreans few Americans see. The Korean community has been trying to hush up the problems. Every time they do that, the problem gets bigger, to the point where it's about to explode."

Korean family difficulties in the Washington area are symptomatic of adjustment problems elsewhere in the country. Across the United States, an array of academic studies of Korean immigrants has shown a disturbing pattern of trouble, particularly for those Koreans in the country for less than five years.

A 350-page study of Koreans, completed in June by the National Institute of Mental Health, found that although Koreans are satisfied with some aspects of their lives,

they feel miserable about others. They lead "a mixed life of blessings and distress," the study concluded.

The study was undertaken by two sociologists at Western Illinois University, Won Moo Huh and Kwang Chung Kim, and was based on surveys of 630 Koreans in Chicago. It offered a revealing list of afflictions, including severe time pressure, loneliness, alcoholism, mental disorders and family strife.

The Koreans' reluctance to seek professional help and their disdain for social services leads to a "vicious cycle," the study said, causing many Americans to dismiss the problems of the Asian immigrants because of their inclination to isolate themselves.

One reason for their insularity is that, like many Asian immigrant groups, Koreans have trouble learning English. Except for those who live in the United States for decades, most of them rarely mingle with non-Koreans. In every major city, Koreans use a local Korean telephone directory more frequently than the Yellow Pages. They get most of their news from Korean-language newspapers.

Churches remain the tie that most binds Korean-Americans. The Koreans' Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic congregations provide not only gospel study but also a social gathering place to hold parties, discuss business and teach

Korean language to the children.

"They have to be in church to maintain ties in the community," said Pyong Gap Min, a Queens College sociologist and expert on Koreans. "Korean churches are a very important part of immigrant life."

The biggest Korean-American community is in the Los Angeles area, with about 200,000 residents. The second largest is in New York City, especially the Flushing section of Queens. Washington has the fourth largest Korean population, after Chicago.

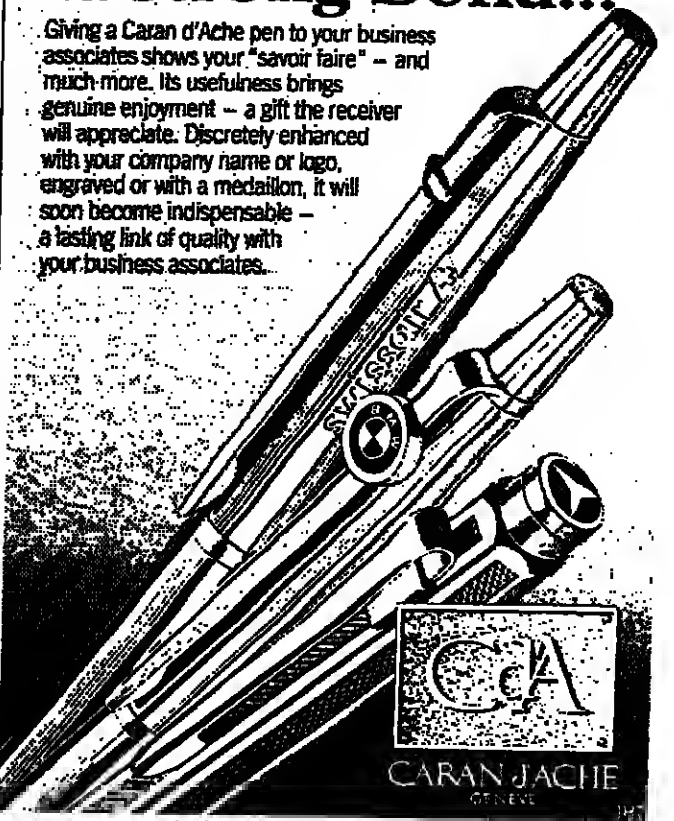
Stress is compounded by the embarrassment many Koreans feel at working in menial jobs like retailing. Most immigrants were well-educated professionals in South Korea, or midlevel corporate managers.

The merchants feel all the more disoriented because their stores are mainly in low-income, crime-ridden areas, business leaders said. Although Koreans are often upset by the culture clash with their customers, sometimes the tensions are no less acute at home. The immigrants' confusion reaches into the family and inflicts damage on relationships, community leaders and academics said.

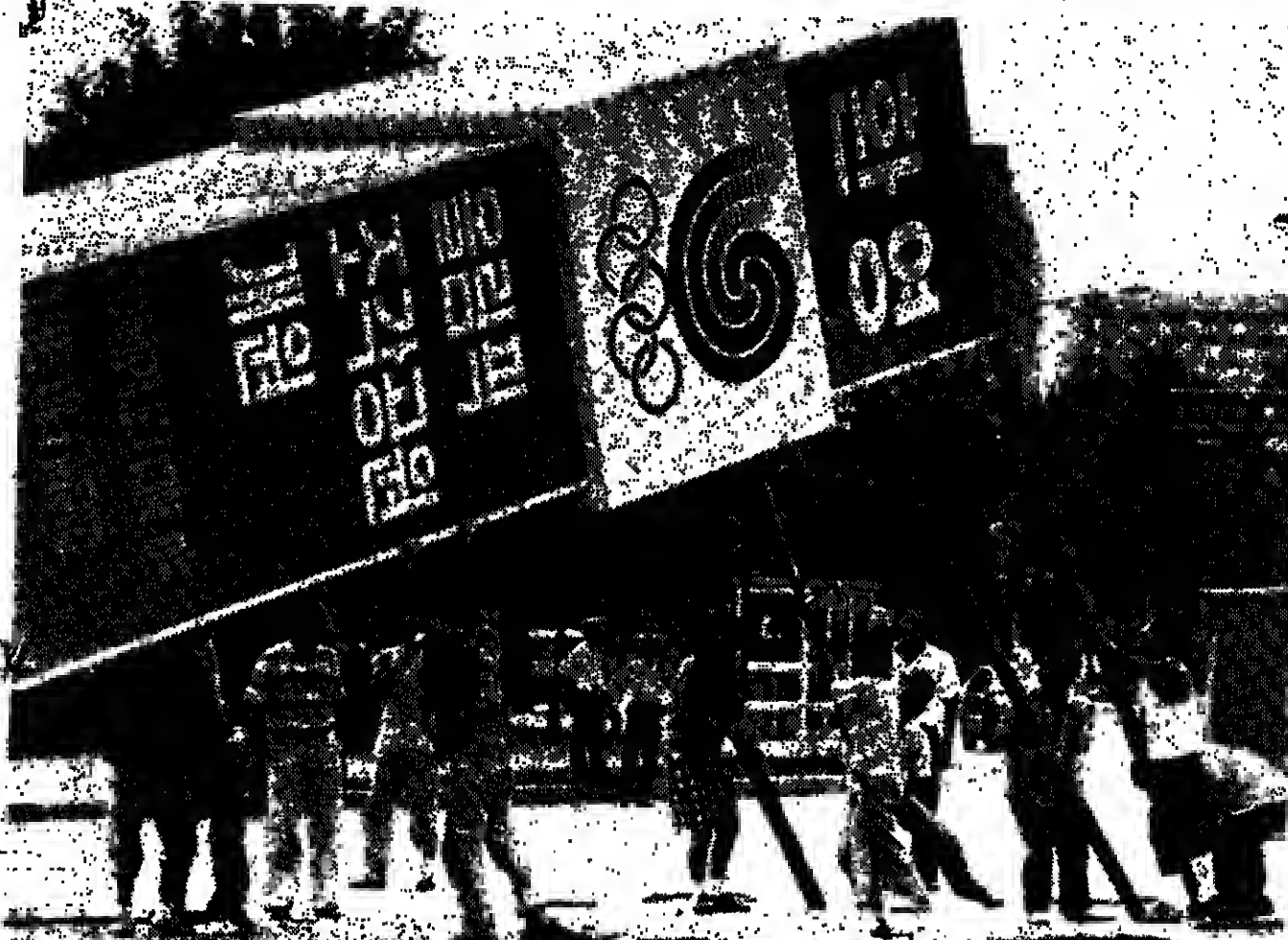
Korean culture stresses the Confucian ideals of discipline and hierarchy. The father is the unquestioned head of his household.

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RISE EXPECTATIONS — Seoul workmen erecting an Olympic sign Wednesday as preparations for the Games stepped up.

Israelis Shaken by Draft-Dodge Scandal

By Joel Brinkley

NEW YORK Times Service
JERUSALEM — The Israeli army says it has arrested dozens of people on charges of paying or receiving thousands of dollars in bribes to avoid compulsory military service.

Israelis were shocked by news of the scandal, which dominated newscasts Tuesday.

Almost all Israeli Jews are required to serve in the army, although there are legislated exemptions for women from Hasidic families, and some Jews decline military service on religious or philosophical grounds.

But the Israel Defense Force is perhaps the nation's most revered institution, and thousands of people are inducted into the army every month.

Although the number of people involved in the case is relatively small — the army says about 60 people are so far known to have had a role — the very fact that anyone would pay bribes to avoid military service, and that such bribes would be accepted, has shaken many Israelis.

On Tuesday the defense minister, Yitzhak Rabin, praised his investigators for uncovering the bribery scheme, which led to the arrest of several officers, including two lieutenant colonels.

Several doctors and others were reportedly arrested and accused of taking money to provide fake medical certificates that exempted people from the draft and from service in the military reserves.

Bribes of up to \$10,000 were reported.

Mr. Rabin vowed to press the investigation and to prosecute the suspects.

The army radio network said the military regarded the affair "with great seriousness," and it said more arrests were expected.

The Jerusalem Post said "shock waves swept" through the Israeli military after the disclosures.

An army spokesman said: "A few months ago, information reached the Israel Defense Force military police that raised suspicions regarding a number of military personnel and their role in illegally releasing civilians from

military duty in exchange for gratuities and monetary gifts."

An investigation began immediately, the army said, and the civilian police took part because some suspects were not in the military.

Almost every Israeli Jew, male and female, in this nation of 4.1 million must enter the army at the age of 18 or after graduation from high school.

Men return for reserve duty of up to 62 days once a year until they turn 55.

The length of the annual reserve service was increased from six weeks to two months earlier this year because extra manpower was needed to cope with the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories.

The sense of duty to the armed forces is instilled in Israelis at an early age.

Children grow familiar with the sight of their fathers donning uniforms for reserve duty, and only a few hundred people have declared themselves conscientious objectors in the last 10 years.

But the longer reserve duty has recently been the cause of grumbling among reservists and among their employers, who lose every

male employee to the army for more than 15 percent of the work year.

Most of those reservists have been sent to the West Bank or the Gaza Strip to put down the Palestinian uprising.

But Brigadier General Amiel Elimelech of the military police said he did not believe that the bribery scheme was an organized effort to evade service specifically in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip.

"It has no connection," he said. "A terrible tragedy has befallen the army. A mafia has overtaken one of its most sensitive nerve centers. These actions are as bad as selling secrets to the enemy."

The daily paper Maariv said: "This is not just fraud but making profit from bloodshed."

Among the army personnel arrested are several officers in the manpower and medical corps, the army said Wednesday.

The army said that it was still looking for people who paid for the false medical exemptions and that it expected that more people would be discovered.

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France Now Backs NATO Arms Position

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

PARIS—In a major policy shift, President François Mitterrand has decided to encourage a common NATO position on conventional disarmament and to support what many allied diplomats see as an attempt to delay an agreement on new negotiations involving the Warsaw Pact.

French officials and allied diplomats say France's more forthright position has been dictated in part by Mr. Mitterrand's concern that further delays could erode the domestic position of Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, who is eager for progress on conventional disarmament.

The shift has been eased by Mr. Mitterrand's re-election in May and the naming of a Socialist government whose foreign minister, Roland Dumas, has a good working relationship with his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, officials and diplomats say. Mr. Dumas is one of a small group of senior French figures who speak German.

On July 1, Mr. Dumas and Mr. Genscher made an unusual joint appearance at a 35-nation conference in Vienna that is drafting the mandate for a new forum on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Ural. The two foreign ministers appeared for a swift conclusion to the conference, which has been stalled by Romania's refusal to accept certain texts on human rights.

A senior presidential adviser said Mr. Mitterrand's re-election had marked the end of a period in which France often seemed to stress a prickly vigilance rather than genuine commitment to the idea of weapons reductions in Europe. For two years, the Socialist president had been obliged to share power with then-Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, a Gaullist conservative who had a majority in the National Assembly.

The president wants France to be an active partner, not a passive one, the adviser said. "France should participate at all levels of disarmament discussions without being paralyzed by fears and ulterior motives."

Until the policy shift, France's tactics on the conventional-weapons issue had exasperated many

allied diplomats, notably Americans, who had sought to forge a consensus in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization at various high-level meetings in Brussels and other capitals.

"It is not unfair to say that up to now their approach had been to try to block progress at all costs," a senior American diplomat said. "Their tactic had been to give strong lip service to the goal and use all kinds of arguments and procedural debates to slow things down."

A British official said the French "are obsessed with the possibility that by hook or by crook the Russians will get to the nuclear systems through the conventional talks."

He said, "They will fight for hours on a word to keep the Russians off the nuclear systems in Europe."

French officials defend their tenacious position within the alliance

as preventing NATO from accepting a posture that would permit the Warsaw Pact to gain easy advantages in the eventual negotiations. They have put forward a complicated system of zones and ratios—between foreign and indigenous troops—and have stoutly opposed the idea of bloc-to-bloc talks in order to conserve France's diplomatic autonomy.

The adviser to Mr. Mitterrand stressed that the new French position, which is still being debated in detail, would not amount to "a radical reversal" and said Paris would still insist on negotiations that led to "stability" between the alliance and the Warsaw Pact, not armed parity.

Mr. Mitterrand is known to be worried that popular frustration in West Germany over the slow pace of conventional disarmament could weaken Mr. Kohl's center-right coalition and strengthen non-

tralist sentiment there. Mr. Mitterrand is also said to be upset that Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, has seized the propaganda high ground in the West by portraying himself as an apostle of disarmament.

Tactically, the French president has allied himself with Mr. Kohl by suggesting that the alliance go slow on its plans for modernizing its short-range nuclear systems in West Germany. Mr. Kohl is known to fear that public opinion will rebel against a new missile to replace the aging Lance system.

Mr. Mitterrand has sketched what some are already calling "a double-track" strategy that would in effect commit the alliance to modernize its short-range nuclear systems in two or three years if the Soviets and their allies fail to make significant concessions in the conventional talks.

Arms-Curb Savings Doubtful

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

THE HAGUE—Defense specialists have started warning Western politicians against expecting arms control to produce savings soon that would stimulate the economy, relieve budget strains and improve social conditions.

"Arms control can only produce financial benefits in the longer term," said Jan van Renswoude, the Dutch state secretary of defense, at a conference of U.S. and European officials and experts here last weekend.

According to General William F. Burns, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, there is "no guarantee that arms reduction agreements will bring fiscal savings."

The Soviet Union, in contrast, may be expected to benefit more directly from disarmament agreements because it can reallocate resources by central planning.

Speakers at the conference, which was sponsored by the Atlantic Commission, a foreign policy organization in the Netherlands, said that Soviet planners hope disarmament can spare them an arms race in military technologies, where

their economy lags more innovative Western countries.

But if Western politicians start anticipating early defense savings, experts said, they could undermine pressure on the Soviet Union for more disarmament.

Premature cuts, they added, also could aggravate trans-Atlantic recommitments among allied governments about "burden-sharing," or how much each government contributes to alliance defenses.

Western polls show that the most popular target for government spending cuts is defense, public opinion experts reported, a view that has gained force as disarmament agreements have helped to reduce fears about Soviet power.

But defense officials said Western nations will only be in a position to cut overall military spending if the Soviet Union withdraws a large part of its troops and conventional arms from Eastern Europe, a prospect several years off at best.

So far, arms control agreements actually have increased defense costs because of the expense of destroying weapons, running inspections and, potentially most expensive of all, designing new arms or improving conventional defenses.

Current arms talks cannot transform the economics of defense because these negotiations concern only U.S. nuclear weapons, which account for a relatively small fraction of Western defense spending.

In the United States, Britain and France, nuclear forces account for less than 15 percent of the arms budget. Other allied nations pay only for delivery of missiles and other support costs for U.S. warheads deployed with their forces.

If Warsaw Pact troops and weapons eventually drop sharply, member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization then would be in a position to start cut-

ting their forces, which could mean significant savings for the West.

But, given the time needed for effective disarmament, "there is no relief in sight this century," said Uwe Nerlich, head of a West German strategic institute. Western intelligence reports show that Soviet forces in Eastern Europe are continuing to improve their capability.

Western awareness of the complexities of contemporary arms control has apparently prevented a revival of the euphoria about economic windfalls that accompanied the first steps toward East-West disarmament in the early 1960s.

But Western politicians, conference speakers agreed, already are coming under pressure to start diverting military spending to civilian programs and to put off plans for new weapons or for expenditure to offset fewer draftees, on the grounds that disarmament will make them unnecessary.

In fact, according to David Greenwood, a British defense expert, current plans for military spending in Western nations have taken advantage of any foreseeable savings from disarmament.

down of monolithic socialism and a return to entrepreneurship. "Letting some Chinese bureaucrats open a wholesale aspirin agency is a lot duller than the Long March or running through the streets of St. Petersburg with a bloody banner," he says. He rather looks forward to what he calls a sporadic decade.

More than ever, he says he believes lines between fiction and nonfiction are misplaced. "This is such a bizarre period, partly because of this different atti-

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"If you're trying to write about a city, I don't think it makes any sense to try to show the psychology of an individual without showing the whole picture. I think the process of doing it should be the same in fiction and nonfiction—the same kind of reporting."

Having pioneered the New Journalism and left his imitators con-

Iraqi Drive On Kurds Has the U.S. 'Concerned'

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON—The Reagan administration says it is "very concerned" about the "human rights implications" of the Iraqi government's campaign to crush a Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq, but that it cannot confirm reports that chemical weapons have been used against Kurdish civilians.

The State Department spokesman, Charles E. Redman, said Tuesday that the United States had brought up the issue with the Baghdad government and that Secretary of State George P. Shultz would discuss it when he meets on Thursday with Iraq's minister of state for foreign affairs, Saddam Ham-

mad. But Mr. Redman said the United States had received no information to confirm Kurdish reports of widespread Iraqi use of chemical weapons against the Kurds.

"If they were to be true, of course we would strongly condemn the use of chemical weapons as we have in the past," Mr. Redman said. "The use of chemical weapons is deplorable. It's barbaric."

A Turkish Embassy official said his government had also been unable to confirm that Iraq has used chemical weapons. He said there was "conflicting expert opinion" from Turkish and French medical teams sent to examine alleged victims and "still no conclusive evidence."

He said that Turkey had nonetheless sought to intervene directly with the Iraqi government to halt the campaign but that its envoy, sent to Baghdad last week, had been rebuffed.

The official said the Iraqis denied "very vehemently" using chemical weapons and were "unhappy" because Turkey had refused to seal its border to prevent Iraqi Kurds from escaping.

KURDS: Turkey Treads a Difficult Path on Refugees

(Continued from Page 1)

traditionally used Kurdish dissent to harness the Baghdad regime, and Iraq, which wants to enlist Turkey's help in neutralizing the Kurdish threat.

Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz said Turkey had refused an Iraqi request for permission to pursue Kurdish guerrillas in Turkish territory.

"They have a problem," said a Kurdish lawyer in Diyarbakir. "They don't want the Iraqi Kurds to infect Turkish Kurds with their ideas of autonomy. And they don't want to get into a fight with the Iraqis."

Prime Minister Turgut Ozal has reportedly said Turkey's relations with Iraq, which previously provided lucrative business for Kurdish firms, will not be damaged by the exodus.

With Baghdad's reassertion of authority over border areas once called "liberated zones" by dissident Kurds, moreover, Iraq now controls a main access route for rebellious Turkish Kurds. Turkish newspapers said Wednesday that some Turkish Kurds had sought to infiltrate the Iraqi fugitives and had been seized.

"It is very difficult for us," said a Kurdish businessman elsewhere in Turkey. "The Iraqi Kurds are our relatives. We want to help them. We have gone to the authorities and said, 'Look, we can give them food, medicines, houses.' But the government just says no."

The statement reflected a concerted Turkish effort to insure that the Iraqi fugitives do not establish a permanent presence that might foment dissent in Turkey.

Turkey does not officially acknowledge a Kurdish ethnic identity. The Kurdish language is outlawed in Turkish schools and its use is discouraged. The country's Kurdish dissidents, grouped in the Marxist Kurdish Workers Party, have sought to feed on the dissatisfaction caused by that discrimination.

"The last thing the Turks want is to have their own Kurds thinking they could do the same as the Iraqi Kurds," said a Kurdish activist interviewed by telephone in Western Europe.

Meanwhile, international relief agencies have said Turkey has not responded to offers of help. Western relief workers flying into the border area have also said Turkey has turned down offers of medical and other assistance.

BURMA: Envoys Leaving as Rangoon Looting Starts

(Continued from Page 1)

asside since mid-August as anti-government protests continued, government control disintegrated and economic activity came to a halt.

Aug. 12 saw the end of the 18 days in power of U Nu, the chosen successor of U Nu Win, who ordered soldiers to fire on demonstrators.

Three thousand died in Rangoon alone, doctors say, but for each who died hundreds more joined the protests. Half a million people marched against the government last Thursday.

On Wednesday, troops moved through streets that just hours before had been teeming with crowds of looters and vandals.

As the troops rolled in, the state-run Rangoon radio announced that the "defense forces and the people's police force shall open fire to impose control should they find that these looters, bent on violence, continue their acts."

Diplomats in Rangoon said there were reports that military units moved into the city, but there was no word of any shooting. "Since the radio warning there has been an eerie silence," a Western diplomat said.

It was the first stern warning about intervention to stop looting, which began outside the city several weeks ago.

The Rangoon radio said its warning "does not concern those people who are demonstrating peacefully," referring to pro-democracy demonstrations against the three-week-old government of U Nu.

Looters broke into the Customs Department warehouse, a building of the Education Department and soap and textile factories. Thieves were spotted carrying away air conditioners and office equipment from the Rangoon office of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

A livestock and poultry farm near the city's airport was looted. The Western diplomat said the looting was probably the act of a desperate and poor people taking advantage of the breakdown of law and order rather than an anti-government move. Other analysts believe disorder is being purposely stoked by authorities to justify their crackdowns.

Despite a crumbling administration, defections from the ruling party and signs of disaffection within the powerful military, the government has refused to back its plan for the party leadership to meet Monday to consider organizing a referendum on ending one-party rule.

On Tuesday, 187 Foreign Ministry employees resigned from the ruling party to protest the government's refusal to bow to the people's demands. (AP, UPI, Reuters)

Yellowstone Fire Fans Old Faithful

United Press International

SILVER GATE, Montana—A forest fire burned to within half a mile of the Old Faithful geyser in the Yellowstone National Park on Wednesday, forcing tourists to evacuate the area.

However, firefighters said they may be able to save the nearby tourist town of Silver Gate and Cooke City from the 142,000-acre (57,500-hectare) North Fork fire.

The Governor of Montana, Ted Schwinden, declared a state of emergency Tuesday that allowed the Park County sheriff to force the few remaining residents to abandon their homes and businesses in Silver Gate and Cooke City.

WOLFE: 'Reflections on Modern Values,' or Searching Far Beyond 'les Vanités'

(Continued from Page 1)

the top of your scalp, as if somehow that created a lever that would move the world.

"Now I think there's a new attitude toward debt, only it's not new. And also in the sexual area, primarily because of AIDS, people are relearning the hazards of promiscuity. So it is really dull to relearn things that were so well known."

The relearning process can also be seen in the Soviet Union and in China, Wolfe says, with the break-

down of monolithic socialism and a return to entrepreneurship. "Letting some Chinese bureaucrats open a wholesale aspirin agency is a lot duller than the Long March or running through the streets of St. Petersburg with a bloody banner," he says. He rather looks forward to what he calls a sporadic decade.

More than ever, he says he believes lines between fiction and nonfiction are misplaced. "This is such a bizarre period, partly because of this different atti-

tude toward morality, that I think it's impossible to understand an individual without understanding this new society we live in.

"If you're trying to write about a city, I don't think it makes any sense to try to show the psychology of an individual without showing the whole picture. I think the process of doing it should be the same in fiction and nonfiction—the same kind of reporting."

Having pioneered the New Journalism and left his imitators con-

tense, Wolfe is now researching his second novel, which will be about the new American working class living in bedroom communities on the East Coast.

The research is a long process of detailed observation. "I think these outward trappings are the doors to the soul," Wolfe says. "If the writer opens the door and doesn't lead you any further, that's his lack of ability."

Wolfe's ability has been confirmed in France even before he opened his new work in Paris: "Le Balzac de New York," said an advance piece in a French magazine.

He should have no problems in television, and Charvet is only a flat gold cuff link's throw from the U.S. Embassy, where his disquisition on "The Fifth Freedom: Reflections on Modern Values" will take place.

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SCIENCE

Cocaine:
High Risk
For a Fetus

By Jane E. Brody

THE first detailed studies of babies exposed to cocaine before birth suggest that this widely used drug is causing an epidemic of damaged infants, some of whom may be impaired for life because their mothers used cocaine even briefly during pregnancy.

The new evidence of fetal hazards is the latest addition to the growing medical indictment of cocaine, which until this decade was thought by many to be a relatively innocent drug. In recent years, cocaine has been shown to be addictive and dangerous, even potentially fatal for adult users.

The new research has found a wide spectrum of ill effects that can result from fetal exposure to cocaine. These include retarded growth in the womb and subtle neurological abnormalities, which may afflict a majority of exposed newborns. In more extreme cases, cocaine can cause loss of the small intestine and brain-damaging strokes.

The researchers offer one hopeful note: Doctors and therapists who work with babies of cocaine users have discovered that a variety of parenting techniques can help minimize the behavioral and movement difficulties that afflict many of the babies. These experts hope that with such techniques, the effects of cocaine on many infants can be countered.

The litany of threats to newborns is long and growing. Cocaine-exposed babies are more likely to die before birth or to be born prematurely. They tend to be abnormally small for their age at birth and have smaller-than-normal heads and brains. They face an increased risk of deformities of the genital and urinary organs, including kidney malformations that can lead to life-threatening infections.

Cocaine-exposed babies also face a tenfold increase in the risk of crib death. These sudden, unexplained deaths usually follow several episodes in which the babies stop breathing for abnormally long periods.

More serious cocaine-induced handicaps such as strokes are believed to be rare. But researchers said that other problems, like inhibited prenatal growth and subtle neurological abnormalities, may affect babies exposed to cocaine.

The emerging medical findings are especially ominous in view of

A Vicious Assault
On the Unborn Child

New research shows that a pregnant woman who uses cocaine exposes the fetus to stresses that continue long after the drug is used. The risks of miscarriage, premature birth and stillbirth are increased, and because of cocaine's chemical properties, a byproduct lingers in the system, repeatedly battering the developing child.



Cocaine is fat-soluble, letting it easily penetrate the placenta, which nourishes the fetus. A byproduct, norcocaine, is water-soluble and remains trapped there.



LASTING DAMAGE. Effects can include retarded growth, stiff limbs, hyper-irritability, tendency to stop breathing with higher risk of crib death, and, in extreme cases, malformed genital and urinary organs, a missing small intestine and strokes and seizures.

Julia Glaz/The New York Times

new indications of widespread use of cocaine, either snorted or smoked in its potent form of crack, by pregnant women. A survey of women having babies at 36 hospitals around the United States found that, on average, 11 percent were exposing their unborn babies to illegal drugs, with cocaine the most common. The rates varied among hospitals from less than 1 percent to 27 percent; the hospitals included some in urban and some in rural areas, some serving the poor and some serving higher income groups.

Studies conducted among 115 pregnant women at Northwestern Memorial Hospital in Chicago have shown that some of the worst effects on unborn children occur when cocaine is used during the first three months of pregnancy, when a baby's organs are forming, and often before the woman realizes she is pregnant. Even if a woman stops the drug once pregnancy is

recognized or uses it only intermittently, her baby can suffer physical or behavioral problems, the studies revealed. In fact, the research suggests that a single cocaine "hit" during pregnancy can cause lasting fetal damage.

While a single dose of cocaine and its metabolites clear out of an adult body within 48 hours, an unborn baby is exposed for four or five days, according to Dr. Ira J. Chasnoff, who directed the survey of 36 hospitals.

Cocaine, which is soluble in fat, readily crosses the placenta, where the baby's body converts a significant portion of it to norcocaine, a water-soluble substance that does not leave the womb and that is even more potent than cocaine. Norcocaine is excreted into the amniotic fluid, which the fetus swallows, re-exposing itself to the drug. As a result, the researchers believe, almost no cocaine-exposed baby fully escapes its damaging effects.

Space Probes Aimed at the Origins of Life

By Sandra Blakeslee

NEW YORK — A major new round of probes to the inner and outer reaches of the solar system could yield important clues about how life began on Earth, say scientists who study the mystery of life's origins.

Space flights planned or proposed for the coming decade will allow the scientists to study comets, planets, moons and other cosmic destinations for evidence of the transition of chemicals from inanimate matter to living things. The search will be guided by a new theory that holds that life was the almost inevitable outcome of "chemical evolution" following the formation of the solar system.

The theory is driven by new evidence, most recently from the spacecraft that flew near Halley's Comet, that the universe is awash with the chemical precursors of life.

"There is astonishing potential that due to the origin of life will be found elsewhere in the solar system and in other stars and galaxies," said Lynn Griffiths, chief of the life sciences division of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington. "Everywhere we look, we find biologically important processes and substances."

While the main goal of the studies is to learn more about the process by which chemicals became organized into ever more complex forms, the latest findings have also revived hopes that signs of primitive life, possibly extinct, might be found on Mars.

The current theory suggests that, some four billion years ago, huge

A New Crop of U.S. Military Launchers

New York Times Service

ATTIAN 2, the first of a new generation of American rockets intended to diminish the military's reliance on the troubled space shuttle, has successfully carried a secret payload into orbit.

[Despite a report that the first stage of the rocket blew up after it fell away from the rest of the booster shortly after the launch at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, "the satellites are moving exactly as they should be," an Air Force source told The Associated Press.]

The rocket is one of a planned fleet of at least 68 U.S. Air Force boosters. Its maiden flight on Monday marked a new phase in the military's broadening space program and an extraordinary reversal in the U.S. space transportation plan.

Three years ago, the goal at the highest levels of government was to have the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the civilian space agency,

monopolize the United States' launching business with its fleet of manned shuttles. But a string of launching failures in 1985 and 1986, including the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger, ended that policy and set off greatly expanded plans for the production of new, unmanned military rockets.

Civilian experts say they believe the rocket was carrying a cluster of Navy spy satellites known as White Cloud. The satellites track Soviet ships by monitoring radar and radio transmissions.

The successful start for the new generation of rockets is underscored by a recent setback. Last Friday, a Titan 34D, one of the last of an old rocket fleet, failed to carry its secret payload into the correct orbit, according to sources quoted by The Associated Press. Although engineers are struggling to salvage the cargo, believed to be an advanced spy satellite, private experts say it could be lost, seriously hampering the nation's ability to monitor the Soviet Union and its military activities.

organic matter than expected. Scientists also found that as it neared the sun and produced its tail, it lost an astonishing 200,000 pounds (90,000 kilograms) of material per second, presumably including vital chemicals, some of which will eventually "rain" onto planets.

Planetary scientists are optimistic that next year will mark the beginning of the second great phase of solar system exploration.

Two spacecraft, Magellan and Galileo, are scheduled to be launched in spring and fall space shuttle flights to Venus and Jupiter respectively. The flights have been delayed several times because of problems with the space shuttle.

Thereafter, most planetary spacecraft will be launched using expendable rockets, said Geoffrey Briggs, director of NASA's solar system exploration division, thus avoiding the shuttle delays that can hamper precisely timed planetary missions.

Meanwhile, the Voyager spacecraft will reach Neptune next August. An orbiting mission to Mars is planned for launching in 1992. Dr. Briggs said, and a new spacecraft is on the drawing boards to be launched in 1995. Plans call for the craft to rendezvous with a comet in the year 2000, to send a probe into its core and to fly alongside the comet for three years as it whips around the sun.

An almost identical spacecraft with different instruments might be launched in 1996 for a four-year stay around Saturn and its moons. It would send a probe into the atmosphere of the moon Titan.

Why a Part of Your Brain Is Still on Vacation

By Michael deCourcy Hinds

New York Times Service

VACATION lag occurs when you return home and part of your brain is still on vacation.

It occurs most often after a refreshing, happy holiday, and the consensus is that the sensation may be pleasant, curious or hellish, depending on your perspective.

"It's really an out-of-body experience, coming back to the real world after being on vacation," Linda Bern said last week, on her first day back at work at the American International Group, an insurance company with headquarters in New York.

"I was in Bermuda with my husband for five days," she said, "and the most stressful thing we did was deciding where to have dinner. This morning, it was back to the pace of New York, the stress of commuting, the stress of coming back to a large folder of mail and telephone messages."

"There is a danger to oversimplifying the whole phenomenon known as post-vacation dysphoria," said Dr. Alan Stodemetz, an associate professor of psychiatry at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.

The general idea is that people become accustomed to the day-to-day stress in their lives, and vacations give them a temporary respite. The risk involved in taking a break, though, is that a person has to re-experience the stress all over again, and he may not have realized his life was so miserable or stressful.

The return home, which is usually abrupt, invites comparisons with places and states of mind left behind. If the contrast isn't too stark, the lingering effects of a vacation may give a rosy tint to one's outlook and soften the re-entry shock. But the person returning home from a mountain cabin to a dead-end job and a burglarized apartment in a decrepit neighborhood

may wonder where he or she went wrong.

Some people seem immune. Air-traffic controllers at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago, the United States' busiest airport, might be expected to suffer vacation lag. Not Joe Bellino. The 20-year veteran of the tower said he never thought about it. "I guess I'm a little behind the power curve when I've been gone for a while," he conceded, "but I like a lot of pressure."

Ralph Nader doesn't experience vacation lag either. The consumer advocate said he doesn't take vacations.

Demanding jobs are fertile breeding grounds for post-vacation dysphoria. Dr. Frantz Melio, a second-year resident in emergency medicine, said it took three days to regain his confidence after spending August in France. Melio started his first day back with a 12-hour shift in the emergency ward at the Los Angeles County

University of Southern California Medical Center Hospital. He said he spent the whole day "worrying that I had forgotten all the facts." He hadn't.

Painful re-entries, however, can be catalysts for an enormous number of positive personal changes, experts said.

That might explain why fall is such a busy season. To beat the blues, people often distract themselves by blocking out the calendar with sports, cultural activities and getaways. Others resolve to improve their lives by going back to school, consulting therapists, selling their homes, changing jobs or careers, joining health clubs.

Even plastic surgeons see a bump in business. "Body sculpturing is most prevalent after summer vacations," said Dr. Mitch Kaplan, a New York plastic surgeon. "A lot of people come in and say, 'You know, since I came back from vacation I've been thinking about my nose.'"

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MADISON AVENUE

Diet Soft Drink Ads Aim At Men as Well as Women

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

LOS ANGELES — Remember when diet soft drinks were promoted on television only by curvaceous women in bikinis? Times have changed. Diet Pepsi called on the boxer Mike Tyson this summer to promote its taste. And this week, on ABC-TV's Monday Night Football, diet Coke opened a new campaign featuring football players showing off their muscles.

Why the shift? Both Coca-Cola Co. and PepsiCo Inc. are determined to capture their share of the growing number of men turning to diet soft drinks. Calorie-counting women used to dominate this market.

In the late 1970s, about 75 percent of diet soft drinks were consumed by women. By 1982, when diet Coke was introduced, the proportion was 72 percent, and it is now 65 percent, according to Michael A. Beindorf, Coca-Cola U.S.A.'s advertising manager.

Advertising is both following the trend and encouraging it. "We've moved from talking about the woman walking out of the ocean drinking from a Tab bottle to the New York Giants football team," said Jesse Meyers, publisher of Beverage Digest, an industry newsletter.

Diet Coke is the third-best-selling soft-drink brand in the United States with 11.5 percent of the market, behind its stablemate, Coke Classic (which held 19.8 percent of the overall market at the beginning of the year, said Beverage Digest) and Pepsi (18.8 percent).

Every seasoned public relations man or woman would dearly love to tell all, but few do. Robert J. Wood, former chairman and chief executive of Carl Byoir & Associates (now part of Hill & Knowlton), has unburdened himself in a new book, "Confessions of a P.R. Man," published at \$18.95 in hard cover by New American Library. Mr. Wood, who wrote his book with the journalist Max Gunther, is in the nice position of spilling the beans while being out of the line of fire, corporate speaking, since he retired several years ago.

HE DESCRIBES his experiences with such clients as A&P, American Can, Eastman Kodak, B.F. Goodrich, Hallmark, Hughes Aircraft, F.W. Woolworth and Howard Johnson. His conclusions include: "P.R. properly applied, can overcome the mightiest of opponents." Companies that don't respect P.R. can end up regretting it. And, "All good ideas involve risk."

The competition among travel-guide magazines, the periodicals that contain precise listings of all flights, will soon heat up with a new monthly for frequent fliers, called the ABC International Executive Flight Planner. ABC International, its publisher, plans for it to compete head-to-head with Dun & Bradstreet's Official Airline Guide and its supplementary publication, Frequent Flyer.

The September issue of the new 300-page magazine will represent a confrontation of publishing giants. ABC International, with American headquarters in Boston, is a division of Reed International, the largest publisher in Britain, with annual sales of \$3 billion. Dun & Bradstreet is one of the nation's major business information publishers, with sales last year of \$3.4 billion.

"ABC International already publishes the World Airways Guide and has an existing data base of schedules of more than 750 airlines, more than half of them in the United States," said Shirley Ybarra, ABC International's president for the Americas. "Since we already have the data base, we believe we are looking at a growing market."

Currency Rates

| Cross Rates | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| Amsterdam | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Frankfurt | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| London (lb.) | 1.76 | 1.76 |
| Paris | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Switzerland | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Yen | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

Interest Rates

| Rate | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| 1 month | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 3 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 6 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 1 year | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

| Key Money Rates | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| 1 month | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 3 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 6 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 1 year | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

| Asian Dollar Deposits | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| 1 month | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 3 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 6 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 1 year | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

| U.S. Money Market Funds | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| 1 month | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 3 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 6 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 1 year | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

| Gold | Sept. 7 | Sept. 8 |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| 1 month | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 3 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 6 months | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| 1 year | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Other Dollar Values | | |
| Australian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Canadian | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| Japanese | 1.38 | 1.38 |
| West German | 1.38 | 1.38 |

2 Plead Guilty In Probes

Broker, Analyst In Insider Cases

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — U.S. officials announced Wednesday separate guilty pleas by two former financial brokerage firm employees involved in major insider-trading cases.

William Dillon, a former stockbroker at Merrill Lynch & Co. admitted in Federal District Court in New York that he had traded securities using information that he obtained from pre-publication copies of Business Week magazine, according to U.S. Attorney Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Stephen Sui-Kuan Wang Jr., a former employee of Morgan Stanley & Co., pleaded guilty to three charges, including mail fraud and securities fraud, stemming from his alleged insider-trading dealings with Fred C. Lee, a Taiwanese-born investor.

Mr. Dillon pleaded guilty to wire fraud charges arising from a scheme that lasted from May 1986 to July 1988. Business Week magazine has said that a production worker at one of the printing plants that produces the publication supplied advance copies of the magazine to Mr. Dillon.

Mr. Dillon has agreed to cooperate with federal investigators, and he also will give up profits he allegedly made from the inside information.

In the case involving Mr. Wang, the Securities and Exchange Commission has said that he supplied confidential information from his firm about impending corporate takeovers to Mr. Lee.

The commission said that Mr. Lee traded stocks on the tips and netted at least \$19 million in profits. He allegedly shared at least \$200,000 of the money with Mr. Wang.

The SEC has frozen the assets of both men and sought repayment of the \$19 million plus triple damages for a total of \$76 million.

It would be the second-largest amount seized by the U.S. agency in an insider-trading case since Ivan F. Boesky surrendered \$100 million nearly two years ago.

Mr. Wang held a junior position with the mergers and acquisitions division of the brokerage firm, but he had access to a good deal of inside information, according to the SEC.

Mr. Giuliani also said that Morgan Stanley has been cooperating with the investigation of Mr. Wang. He said, however, that there was "no suggestion that Morgan Stanley is criminally involved in the situation."

He also said that Mr. Wang's offenses carry a maximum penalty of 15 years imprisonment and fines. (AP, Reuters)

Campeau Sets Sale of 76 Stores

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Campeau Corp. has agreed to sell its 76 Gold Circle and Richway stores and related assets for more than \$325 million, the Canadian retailing and real estate giant said Wednesday.

The stores are to be sold to Kinco Development Corp., a privately held owner and manager of shopping centers.

Kinco, in turn, has agreed to sell 31 of the stores to Dayton-Hudson Corp. and to lease 35 others to Hills Department Stores, Campeau said.

Buyers or operators are still being sought for the other 10 stores, according to Campeau.

The Gold Circle and Richway stores are part of Federated Department Stores Inc., which Campeau bought earlier this year for \$8.8 billion.

The sale does not include the warehouses and central offices, which are to be sold separately. The inventory of the stores is to be disposed of during the next 12 weeks.

The stores being leased by Hills are in New York, Ohio and Kentucky. The stores being bought by Dayton-Hudson are in Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky and will be converted to Target discount stores by next spring.

Campeau, based in Toronto, has been steadily selling assets to pay for the purchase of Federated. Campeau also bought Allied Stores Corp. in late 1986 for \$3.4 billion. It said the latest sale of the stores and related assets would raise more than \$325 million.

Kenneth A. Macke, chairman and chief executive officer of Dayton-Hudson, which is based in Minneapolis, said Target's solid performance supports the expansion.

"This is a strategically excellent step for Target, which has demonstrated its ability to enter new markets in a big way and continue solid performance," Mr. Macke said.



Yoshio Kuroda, center, president of Kubota Computer Inc., with the company's first computer.

Kubota Plows the Computer Field

Japan Tractor Firm Assembles U.S. High-Tech Goods

By David E. Sanger

TOKYO — For the first 98 years of its history, Kubota Ltd., Japan's largest manufacturer of agricultural machinery, never made anything more technologically sophisticated than tractors.

Then last month, from a gleaming new plant north of Tokyo, Kubota Computer Inc. shipped its first mini-supercomputer, one of the most advanced of its kind.

The design, the chips and the software are all American, resulting from investments in some of the hottest start-up companies in Silicon Valley, like Ardent Computer Corp. and MIPS Computer Systems Corp. Kubota's job was to assemble the computers.

"It's perfectly legal, even admirable," said John P. Stern, head of the U.S. Electronics Association's Tokyo office. "But it is also a little scary."

What bothers Mr. Stern and many others is that Kubota's string of investments — so far it has

spent about \$75 million on five companies — will accelerate the transfer to Japan of U.S. supercomputer technology, one of the few areas in which the United States still leads.

Engineers at Kubota are learning as they build, byte by byte. They plan to be making a computer of their own in a few years.

Kubota's strategy says a lot about how Japanese companies have gained considerable savvy about investing in America.

To sidestep trade complaints from the U.S. Commerce Department and national security objections from the Pentagon, Kubota has been careful not to seek control of its U.S. partners.

But it has made itself an indispensable source of cash and manufacturing talent to start-ups in need of both. It has shown a willingness to share technological risks, and learned how to keep a low profile.

"We have no need to interfere with anybody's

See KUBOTA, Page 13

Cash Squeeze Feared After Rescues by U.S. Thrift Agency

By Nathaniel C. Nash

WASHINGTON — The flurry of rescues by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board of savings institutions in the past three weeks, according to industry analysts, may have left the agency's deposit insurance unit in a cash squeeze.

The bank board, regulator of the 3,000 U.S. savings and loan associations, has agreed since Aug. 18 in shutting, merging or finding new owners for 46 insolvent savings institutions.

The interest cost on that debt and the agency's other obligations equal or exceed its income from insurance premiums paid by U.S. thrift institutions, the analysts said.

To be sure, the heavy interest costs do not threaten the safety of deposits insured by the bank board's Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corp.

The danger of the situation, observers

said, is that while it does not cripple the bank board's immediate ability to bail out troubled savings institutions, eventually the cost of interest payments might force the agency to dip into resources that should be used for rescuing bankrupt thrift institutions.

Altogether, the agency seems to have at most \$23 billion in debt and other obligations that carries an average annual servicing cost of 9 percent to 10 percent, or about \$2.1 billion to \$2.3 billion.

That amount equals and may even exceed the annual premiums paid by thrift institutions for deposit insurance, which total nearly \$2 billion.

The bank board cannot raise the premium rate on the industry without a congressional mandate, and that would be difficult as most observers agreed that any further increase in premiums would weaken the health of the rest of the thrift industry.

Analysts also see another problem. Though the economy in Texas, where most

Oil Price Fall, Aide's Remarks Spur Yen Rise

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar fell against the yen on Wednesday as slaking oil prices and remarks from the governor of the Bank of Japan bolstered the Japanese currency.

Against European currencies, however, the dollar generally edged higher.

The dollar dropped below 134 yen just one day after falling below

The dollar's recent weakness is causing problems for the French franc, Page 15.

Support for the yen was encouraged by falling oil prices, which mean the Japanese "will spend less for their energy," a dealer in London said.

This, in turn, will reduce Japan's huge fuel import bills, cutting pressure for a lower yen that would stimulate exports. The lower fuel costs could also encourage investment in the Japanese economy.

"It is the so-called oil trade that is moving the market," said Doug Madison, a dealer with Bank of America in London. "The action today is most directly related to oil prices."

Meanwhile, Satoshi Sumita, the Bank of Japan governor, said the bank might support the yen if it dropped substantially.

He said the central bank's monetary policy would remain intact, but "the bank could take measures, if necessary, depending on future economic conditions."

Mr. Sumita said there were no plans to raise Japan's key discount rate, now at 2.5 percent. But markets in Europe chose to speculate that rising prices might force his hand, dealers said.

A rise in short-term Japanese bank interest rates also helped push the yen higher, dealers said.

The dollar rose to 1.8425 Deutsche marks from 1.8418 on Tuesday, and it advanced to 1.5545 Swiss francs from 1.5530 and to 6.2765 French francs from 6.2740.

The British pound, however, rose to \$1.7075 from \$1.7040.

A dealer with the European American Bank in New York said the European currencies were on the sidelines for most of the day with the most active trading in a rather dull session between the dollar and the yen.

He added that the market was waiting for the end-of-week publication of U.S. wholesale prices for July, which are considered a key indicator in determining whether the United States is headed for a new bout of inflation.

Dealers said the only central bank intervention on the money markets came from the Bank of Italy, acting to stop the lira's slide against the mark.

Earlier in London, the dollar slid to close at 133.75 yen from 133.50 yen at Tuesday's close.

Against the European currencies, however, the dollar was mostly stronger. It ended at 1.8465 DM from Tuesday's closing 1.8420 DM, but the British pound rose to \$1.7055 from Tuesday's \$1.7035.

(Reuters, AFP)

London Dollar Rates

| Currency | Wed. | Thurs. |
|---------------|--------|--------|
| Deutsche mark | 1.8418 | 1.8425 |
| French franc | 6.2740 | 6.2765 |
| Japanese yen | 133.50 | 133.75 |
| Swiss franc | 1.5530 | 1.5545 |
| British pound | 1.7040 | 1.7075 |

Source: Reuters

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FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES

THE COMPLETE FINANCIAL SELECTION SERVICE

Enserch to Sell Its Oil Services Unit

"After many months of careful study and deliberation on available alternatives, we have taken this action as the best move for shareholder value," said Enserch's chairman, W.C. McCord.

"We will maintain the integrity of the Pool organization," he said, "without continuing the negative impact Pool currently is having on the consolidated results of Enersich."

Rivers

In October, Enserch filed a registration statement with the Securities and Exchange Commission to sell 20 percent of the assets of Pool, which is based in Houston, and owns 580 oil rigs, through a public stock offering. But the offering was later withdrawn as a result of the stock market collapse.

Pool, the largest well service company in the United States, has been hit by the decline in the energy industry. The company employs about 4,300 workers.

Carless is an oil and gas explorer that also makes and sells commodity and specialist oil, gas and chemical products. Ryan is the largest independent British company involved in open cast coal mining, coal recovery and trading.

When the British government's proposals to privatize the electricity supply industry are implemented, the new concern should be well placed to take advantage of them, the companies' statement said.

By Barry James

Some Western experts have criticized the standard of finish of the aircraft.

Mr. Karpinsky said the Soviet Union hoped to interest foreign buyers in three civil aircraft—the 214-seat, medium-range Tupolev 204 and the 64-seat Ilyushin 64, both of which are scheduled to make their inaugural flights this year, and the 300-seat Ilyushin 96, a four-engined widebodied jet designed for long-range flights.

The Tupolev 204 will rely on computers to control the aircraft in the same kind of technology used in Airbus Industrie's new A-320 twin-jet. The Soviet Union has never before been noted as a serious commercial aircraft builder.

sphere of influence and soft currency areas. This time, however, according to Mr. Karpinsky, it has reached "a high technical level, certainly not lower than the United States, and in some cases better."

"For example," he said, "our aircraft have to operate between minus 60 degrees (minus 140 degrees Fahrenheit) in Siberia in winter to plus 45 degrees (plus 113 degrees Fahrenheit) in central Asia in summer, which means we have had to do special research on metals and hydraulic equipment."

Earlier, Henri Marue, president and director general of Aerospatiale, the French aerospace manufacturer, said in an interview that he did not

Reuters

Last month, BAT won a lengthy takeover battle for the U.S. insurer Farmers Group Inc., and the \$5.2 billion acquisition is expected to be completed by the end of the year.


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(Continued from first finance page)

"There is nothing sinister in it at all," said Allan H. Michels, the head of Ardent Computer of Sunnyvale, California, whose minisupercomputers attracted Knbota to take a 38 percent stake in the company.

"Kubota is one of the world's best manufacturers, and to be competitive we need the best manufacturing," he said.

MIPS Computer Systems, added: "This is not a case of an American company's setting up a competitor. This is an example of how you learn to prosper in the Japanese market." Kubota owns 20 percent

MIPS is widely regarded as a leader in RISC, or reduced-instruction-set computing, a technology

Besides its investments in Ardent and MIPS, Kubota has spent a total of \$22.3 million to invest in a software manufacturing plant.

The alliance between Kubota and Silicon Valley companies began when its management realized

"We tried to cover it up for a while by exporting overseas," said

Masahiro Yoshida, a managing director of Knbota Ltd., the parent company that is based in Osaka.

INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from

Ardent had attracted attention in the United States and Japan because of its big names — Mr. Mills and C. Gordon Bell, the designer of Digital Equipment Corp.'s VAX computers — and for its goal of building a small super-

For some applications, particularly those requiring very-high-resolution three-dimensional images

The investment in Ardent led Kubota to MIPS, where it spent \$10 million in 1987 for its stake. Kubota's machines are based on

IPS (whose name is taken from the computer term "millions of instructions per second").

dent's machines. It has already shipped 50 to the United States, and has begun selling some under its own label in East Asia. It is also selling some MTBS in

It also selling some MIPS re-
duced-instruction-set computers.
It has a license to manufacture
MIPS machine that has yet to be
produced.

Ardent and MIPS insisted they
would set up their own compen-

Their agreements with Kubota limit how much stock Kubota can buy and specify that it can market the machines only in the Pacific Rim.

"I'm happier with the agreement now than I have ever been," Mr. Her said.

LOW COST FLIGHTS

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ART BUCHWALD

The Electrician Cometh

WASHINGTON—I was playing tennis when I was called off the court by my wife. She said excitedly over the phone, "The electrician is coming in an hour."

"He's been saying that for a month. Why should we believe him now?"

"Because he initiated the call. I know he'll be here. It is a feeling I have."

When I arrived at the house, my wife was dusting the furniture and fixing the flowers. "You better shower," she told me, "and put on a shirt and tie. I don't want him to think we can't afford him."

"But he's only an electrician," I protested.

"He's more than that. He is the key to our entire fuse box problem. Something has been blowing every electric appliance in this house, and I'm not going to take it anymore."

I showered and put on my best dress shirt and Italian silk tie, plus the blue blazer that I save for British royalty and American workmen.

My wife was chilling a bottle of wine. "I hope he likes Pouilly-Fuissé."

"He wouldn't be in the wall socket business if he didn't," I said.

"I don't know why we couldn't get an electrician when he didn't show up last month."

"You can't find an electrician because they're a dying breed. Most of them won't even let you leave a message on their telephone answering machines. She put powder on her nose. "I hope he likes us."

"What difference does it make if he likes us or not?" I said.

"If he doesn't like us he'll walk out the door and put a curse on our fuse box forever. Now, as soon as he comes in, take him into the living room and make him comfortable. I've put pictures of the children out on all the tables. I want him to know we believe in the family just in case he's a Republican. Now, above all, do not discuss politics with him. I don't want to lose an electrician over the prayer in school issue."

"What do you discuss with an electrician?" I asked.

"Benjamin Franklin. After all, he was the father of electricity. Then there is Thomas Edison. Electricians think Edison is the cat's meow."

"I could talk to him about the stock market," I said. "I understand anyone who is a licensed electrician automatically becomes a member of the Fortune 500."

My wife said, "I'm so nervous. It's so long since I met a man who worked with wires."

"Be your natural self," I told her. "An electrician puts on his pants one leg at a time, just like a plumber."

"I'd feel so much better if I had cleaned the cellar."

"You're worrying too much. I wouldn't be surprised if Pouilly-Fuissé goes right down, tears the fuse box off the wall and finds the short in no time."

"I only hope you're right. I guess we should consider it an honor that he would even stop at our house," she said. "Do you think we should call the Larimores? They have been waiting for an electrician for four years."

"That would be rubbing it in. Besides, I'm not sure they would know how to behave in front of a licensed electrician. For all we know they would fall to their knees and make damn fools of themselves."

Christie's Bars Sale

Of Relics of Humans

LONDON—Christie's has pledged not to sell any more human relics after a controversy over a Maori warrior's head. The decision was welcomed by Survival International, a tribal rights group which went to court to force Bonham's, another London auction house, to withdraw a tattooed head from a sale last May. The head was later returned to New Zealand for burial.

Christie's canceled a sale of preserved heads in June. The latest decision was announced by Anthony Coleridge, chairman of Christie's South Kensington branch in London. "We do not wish to offend growing sensibilities of emergent nations and it has been decided that such heads will not be included in Christie's sale at auction," he said.

Reebok's Toehold in Rock 'n' Rights

By Mike Zwerin

International Herald Tribune

PARIS—Riding the crowded Métro to the Bercy arena on Sunday to hear the "Human Rights Now!" concert, I sat on a jump seat and stared at the floor, a profitable point of view when dealing with footwear. I saw four pairs, eight count 'em, eight—feet wearing soft garment leather running shoes labeled "Reebok."

Status-symbol brand names have got out of hand—or foot, as the case may be. Why pay for a product we then advertise for free? It's about image, something to sink your toes into. In "The Bonfire of the Vanities," Tom Wolfe describes how it works with an imprisoned crack dealer from the Bronx: "Roland had an obsession with Reebok sneakers, which had to be new-right-out-of-the-box snow white. At Rikers Island he managed to get two new pairs per week. This showed the world that he was a hard case worthy of respect."

The association of Reebok with respect has brought the company from gross sales of \$3 million in 1982 to an estimated \$1.8 billion this year, according to C. Joseph LaBonté, president and chief operating officer, interviewed on Saturday while he was between private jets (from London en route to Boston) at Le Bourget airport. Underwriting a seven-week, five-continent rock tour featuring Bruce Springsteen, Sting, Peter Gabriel, Tracy Chapman and Jossou N'Dour for the benefit of Amnesty International constitutes image writ large. The \$10-million loss—the difference between the tour's estimated \$12 million income and \$22 million cost—is a bargain considering that for about half that Pepsi-Cola only got Michael Jackson.

But perhaps I was cynical. We can only try to operate the best we can within whatever system is at our disposal, or rather has it at its disposal. It is absolutely normal that Boh Gelfond, a mediocre rock singer, was knighted after a few years of charity work. The enormous exposure and free publicity involved with such charities as Live Aid and Human Rights Now! pumps up recording sales and royalties as well as image for the stars who "give" their time. It is only natural that LaBonté should travel by private jet, though watching him deplane I could not help but remember a Russian I once met who had serious problems getting from Omsk to Tomsk. But now, perhaps, I wane downright cranky.

"Our company believes in freedom of expression in lifestyle," began LaBonté. "One of our themes is, 'Life is not a spectator sport.' We try to live and run our company that way. We like to think we're not so structured that people can't come up with 'crazy' ideas. There are people who think we've lost our marbles."

After the success of Conspiracy of Hope, a six-day rock tour in the name of his organization, John G. Healy, Amnesty International executive director, began thinking of something bigger—a world tour of superstars. This would require a fortune in front, but his organization had maintained its just-about-universal respect partly by never allying itself with any government, political party or corporation. Last December, he came to Reebok, according to LaBonté, "in a rumpled suit, a disheveled professional type with other Amnesty people who have dedicated their lives to this work. I have come to have enormous respect for all of them. They had done their homework about our company, they said they worked with us because they thought we were the only company they could relate to."

"We, on the other hand, had been thinking about some sort of rock-sponsoring campaign as an advertising thing. But after speaking to the Amnesty people and learning more about who they are and what they stand for, it became clear that doing it as advertising would be counterproductive. Our motives would be questioned. So we decided to underwrite the tour. There has been from the beginning, and there continues to be disagreement in the Amnesty ranks about this association. Some of the more militant, more optimistic, but there are still pessimists who are waiting for the other shoe to drop."

Let's hope that the shoe is not an Adidas. But while the difference between "advertising" and "sponsoring" and "underwriting" escapes me, nothing should be done to cause it to drop. This tour celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a far better thing to do than not.

Amnesty International is based on a simple, practical idea. Members send letters, cards and telegrams on behalf of individual prisoners of conscience to government officials. A released prisoner from the Dominican Republic testified: "When the first 200 letters came, the guards gave me back my clothes. Then the next 200 letters came, and the prison director came to see me. When the next pile of letters arrived, the director got in touch with his superior. The letters kept coming and coming—3,000 of them. The president was informed. The letters still kept arriving, and the president called the prison and told them to let me go."

Says LaBonté: "The reason the idea works is that it's something you can do privately. You don't have to go to meetings, it doesn't cost anything, you do it at your leisure. It works because as the letters pile up it eventually becomes more trouble to keep these prisoners in jail than to set them free. You know, I grew up in a relatively poor environment. I worked a night shift when I went to college. Along the way

I've had the good fortune to have some mentors and I learned a long time ago to share, to give back, not to squeeze out the last penny. I've been blessed. But with success goes responsibility."

Who gets paid and who does not? "None of the headlines are dead. The time they are taking is worth millions to each of them. I am absolutely certain of the dedication of these people. That comes across if you spend any time with them. Stagehands, truck drivers and musicians and people like that are being paid because they have mortgages, and families to support, they can't afford to take seven weeks off. And by the way, Amnesty gets no money from this. They never asked us to raise money, it was never in the dialogue. They just want to raise awareness. They want new members and more letters."

How has the 48-year-old LaBonté been relating personally to the headlines? "They are different than I thought they were. Some of them have worked terribly hard for years to become 'overnight successes.' The first one I met was Sting. Just the name is sort of off-the-wall for a grand father over 40 like I am. But then you begin to talk to him and it's wonderfully refreshing, he's very bright, he's been involved with Amnesty on a personal level since 1982. All of these people are thoughtful and intelligent artists. When I began to read their lyrics more carefully, I realized this. They have a lot in common but they have never performed on the same bill."



"Life is not a spectator sport" for C. Joseph LaBonté and his company.

before. They rarely even play in the same city at the same time. Only economic reasons keep them apart. And here for once something brings them together. Many people were concerned about egos not meshing but the opposite has happened. They draw straws for who will open, but they open and close with a song they have developed together—Peter Tosh's "Get Up, Stand Up."

If straws are indeed drawn, they have so far—once concert in Wembley, London, and two here at Bercy—always come out long and short in the same order. It is hard to imagine anybody but Springsteen closing. When I asked Bill Graham, perhaps the only tour manager capable of handling such complicated logistics (working gratis) if there were egos clashing, he said: "No. But if there were, I wouldn't tell you."

Backstage, a residue of abrasion, if not exactly a clash, was evident. They don't call Springsteen "The Boss" for nothing. After Budapest Tuesday, they play Thursday in Turin, Saturday Barcelona, Tuesday San José (Costa Rica). Then, among others, Montreal, Los Angeles, Tokyo, New Delhi, Moscow (about 60-40 at this point), says LaBonté, Harare (Zimbabwe), and São Paulo before winding up in Buenos Aires Oct. 15. The schedule is no piece of cake and perhaps Graham sums it up best when he says: "You know, some rock stars do genuinely have social consciousness and some businessmen do actually want to give something back."

Elton John threw a high-class garage sale at Sotheby's in London and cleared more than \$1 million (\$1.7 million) on the first day of the four-day auction. Top price, \$25,300 was paid by Sotheby's, a Japanese department store, for a Cartier 1923, emerald, onyx and diamond watch. A 1940 Wurlitzer jukebox went for \$17,600. John said he sold his belongings because he had run out of room at his Miami mansion.

Thomas Gregory, an 11-year-old English boy, has set a record as the youngest person to swim the English Channel, the Channel Swimming Association said. He broke the record set in 1979 by Marcus Hooper who made the crossing at age 12. "All I want to do is have a 48-hour kip [sleep]," Gregory said on Tuesday. He made the swim in 11 hours and 45 minutes, surpassing Hooper's time of 14 hours and 37 minutes.

Peter Palumbo, 53, will replace the retiring Lord Rees-Mogg as head of Britain's Arts Council. Palumbo, who is to take office in late March, is a businessman known for his interest in modern architecture and painting.

PEOPLE

New York Truck Driver Wins \$23-Million Lotto

Tony Valentino, 29, a driver for Port Cola, is the winner of the \$23-million jackpot in New York's Lotto. Valentino, of Port Chester, New York, called his supervisor to tell him he wouldn't be in to work and had picked all six winning numbers drawn on Saturday, says Lotter officials. He declined to identify the winner until after Wednesday afternoon's celebration. "He requested a day to recuperate," said George Lamm, spokesman, adding that the winner did not realize he had picked all six numbers until early Tuesday.

Frank Dunlop, the director of the Edinburgh International Festival, has defended this year's lineup after London newspaper critics said it did not meet the standards of an international arts festival. Dunlop said the British premiere of the Houston Grand Opera's "Nixon in China" had drawn nearly 3,000. "That would never happen in London," he said. Attendance remained steady this year at 70 percent of capacity.

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